PQ 6412.
L25
SAN

QUEEN MARY COLLEGE
(University of London)
LIBRARY

AUTHOR

SANTILLANA, Inigo López de Mendoza, marqués de

TITLE

Letter of the Marquis of Santillana to Don Peter, constable of Portugal; ed. by A.R. Pastor and E. Prestage.

CLASSIFICATION AND LOCATION

PQ 6412.L 25

STOCK No.

(13534)

QMC Library
23 0802296 6

WITHDRAWN
FROM STOCK
QMUL LIBRARY

C/2

68

LETTER OF THE MARQUIS OF SANTILLANA TO DON PETER, CONSTABLE OF PORTUGAL

Oxford University Press
London Edinburgh Glasgow Copenhagen
New York Toronto Melbourne Cape Town
Bombay Calcutta Madras Shanghai
Humphrey Milford Publisher to the UNIVERSITY

13534.

LETTER OF THE MARQUIS OF SANTILLANA TO DON PETER, CONSTABLE OF PORTUGAL

With Introductions and Notes
by ANTONIO R. PASTOR and
EDGAR PRESTAGE

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1927

PQ 6412
Z25
2.

Printed in England at the OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
By John Johnson Printer to the University

To the Memory of
Dona Carolina Michäelis de Vasconcellos
link between the two peninsular countries
inspiration to all hispanic scholars
generous donor of the fruits of her research

PREFACE

THE *Letter* with which Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, accompanied the gift of his poems to Don Peter, Constable of Portugal, contains a sketch of the development of literature in the Romance languages by one who knew and was himself an author. It is therefore of capital importance for those who are interested in the literary history of Spain and Portugal.

The object of this reprint has been to make it more accessible to University students.

Our text is that of José Amador de los Rios in his edition of the *Obras* of the Marquis of Santillana, Madrid, 1852, but revised by reference to that of Luigi Sorrento in the *Revue Hispanique*, vol. lv.

CONTENTS

The Author of the *Letter* 11
The Recipient of the *Letter* . . . 59
Text of the *Letter* 69
Notes 83

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of the Poet by George the Englishman . . . . . *facing p.* 11
Portrait of the Marchioness of Santillana *facing p.* 12

PORTRAIT OF THE POET BY GEORGE, THE ENGLISHMAN

Once part of the *retablo* in the Church of the Hospital at Buitrago,
now in the possession of the Duke del Infantado,
Marquis of Santillana

THE AUTHOR OF THE *LETTER*

§ 1

Two portraits are reproduced here, one of the poet, who is the subject of this essay, and the other of his wife. It is rare that we are able to form an accurate idea of the physical appearance of a writer who lived in the first half of the fifteenth century.

The poet and his wife are praying under canopies, in front of two low tables resting on eagle-claws and covered with velvet. He is accompanied by a page, and she by a Duena. Three landscapes are part of the compositions. A door in the panel of the Marquis opens on to undulating fields and two trees of unequal height. On the panel of the Marchioness are two landscapes; one, seen through an open window, represents a castle in precipitous country, the other, on the right, seen through the doorway, shows a road leading into hilly country with round, low-growing trees, very different from those visible from the apartment of the poet. He wears a greenish garment, a cap, and the order of St. Anthony round his neck. His Book of Hours is closed and he looks pensively into the distance. She, dressed in red and a velvet mantle, lined with brocade, has her book open, but is not reading in it. Her exquisite hands hold a Rosary. Under the table a lap-dog is curled up and asleep. The impression is one of melancholy peace, reflected in the pale blue skies of the landscapes, of a certain languor and aristocratic distinction.

In the year 1454 the King, Henry IV of Castile, convoked the Cortes at Cuellar in order to initiate his reign, once more in the traditional fashion, with an

incursion into the Moorish kingdom of the south. For years the war against the Moors had been held in slight esteem and had become something of a convention. The armistice had only been interrupted, when the payment of the Moorish tribute had been delayed, so that the expedition of the young King had an almost romantic air about it.

The army marched south in April 1455. The Marquis of Santillana hurriedly drew up a testament a few days later in Guadalajara,[1] but in order to find any reference to pious foundations we must turn to a second will drawn up in the summer in Andalusia. Here we read the following passage:

'twenty thousand *maravedises* to the Hospital of St. Salvador, which I have built in my town of Buitrago: also I order that in the church of the said Hospital three altars shall be built: the first in the main chapel, this altar to be made with five steps . . . and there shall be placed the Triptych of the Angels, which I ordered Master George the Englishman, painter, to make, together with a carved image of Our Lady, which I had brought from the fair of Medina.'[2]

The triptych of George the Englishman contains the two portraits. It is in the possession of the present Marquis of Santillana.[3]

[1] The first Testament was published by Monsieur Foulché-Delbosc in *Revue Hispanique*, vol. ii, p. 114, after a copy of the year 1511.

[2] See Francisco Javier Sanchez Cantón, '*Maestro Jorge Inglés, pintor y miniaturista del Marqués de Santillana*', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 1917, pp. 99–105, 1918, pp. 27–31.

[3] It is not impossible that the image of the Virgin, which the present Duke del Infantado and Marquis of Santillana has placed

PORTRAIT OF THE MARCHIONESS OF SANTILLANA

belonging to the same *retablo* as that of the Poet

We know little or nothing about the painter, not even if he was an Englishman. Perhaps the word *Ingles* was used as a nickname.[1] It is clear that without Flemish influences this triptych could not have been painted, but it is important to realize that we are not dealing with a pupil of van Eyck or of van der Weyden, whose famous picture had been in John II's Carthusian Monastery of Miraflores since 1445. The Flemish elements in these portraits are somewhat remote and buried, as it were, under the surface. They have been given a strongly personal significance by Master George, who, wherever he came from, was not Flemish. We know, in short, only that he was associated with the beginnings of pictorial art in Castile, and the founder of the Castilian School of Painting, Antonio del Rincon, has been thought to be a pupil of this mysterious master. In the Catalan County the art of painting was at that time reaching its most mature splendour in the works of Luis Dalmau, Domingo Sans, and Bernardo Geffer, and already could look back on a strongly national tradition.

The excellent Don Antonio Ponz (1725–1794), indefatigable scholar, traveller, and guide-book-compiler, visited in the course of one of his expeditions, the little township of Buitrago, and there peered with cold, observant, eighteenth-century eyes at the *retablo* in the chapel. Later in his life he saw the precious

in front of the paintings of Master George, is the same which the poet bought at the fair of Medina.

[1] Reproductions of the work were included in the Exhibition of British Primitive Paintings organized by Viscount Lee of Fareham at Burlington House in 1923.

boards again in Madrid when the Duke del Infantado had them brought to the capital in order to have them cleaned. He contributed the article on *El Ingles* to the dictionary of Cean Bermudez,[1] which was published after his death. His description is accurate. The panel on the Gospel side represents Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza. The one on the Epistle side Dona Leonor, his wife. Both are kneeling and each is accompanied by an attendant. The figures are nearly life-size. Above them, on other panels, are twelve angels, holding scrolls in their hands on which are written poems by the Marquis dedicated to Our Lady, the *Gozos de Nuestra Señora*,

> Goçate, goçosa Madre,
> Goço de la humanidat,

and the structure is crowned by a St. George dispatching the dragon. The collateral panels have disappeared, but Ponz still saw the two paintings belonging to them, which were attached to the posts in the immediate vicinity of the main chapel. One represented St. James and the other St. Sebastian. The traveller proceeds to say that the 'Master Englishman was one of the best artists of his time in Spain, for these panels are painted with such skill and elegance as the knowledge of that period permitted'.

Nowadays we miss some of the paintings Ponz noticed. In addition to the side panels the St. George has disappeared. On the other hand, recent restoration has brought to light the paintings of the lower portion, on the back of the bench (*predella*), large

[1] *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*, vol. ii, pp. 309–10, Madrid, 1800.

busts of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Gregory, and St. Jerome.[1]

Whoever Master George was, he was an artist gifted with great powers of observation which express themselves independently, we might say in spite, of the idioms of the Flemish school. His shortcomings are obvious; a certain affectation in the treatment of everything except the heads, the lack of atmosphere, and a slipshod manner in which he deals with details such as the Rosary and the sword. But his powers of composition are remarkable. Was he, as Sanchez Canton assumes so ingeniously, the artist who painted the superb miniatures to be found in at least five books in the library of the Marquis? The theory is a fascinating one, and makes, so it seems to me, the origins of painting in Castile similar to those of early medieval art generally, assigning to the illuminated manuscripts of the fifteenth century a part in relation to painting similar to that played by them in Merovingian France, four centuries away, in relation to the beginnings of Romanesque sculpture.

§ 2

Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza was born on the 19th August 1398, in the town of Carrion de los Condes, known in literature as the home of the *Infantes de Carrion*, who play an important and unpleasant part in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, and of the *Rabbi Sem Tob*, the first Jew who wrote in the Castilian language, and

[1] Ponz already noticed that 'in some ways they have altered its original form with a piece of bad carving which hides a considerable portion'.

who dedicated his Moral Proverbs to King Peter, called by his enemies the Cruel.

His family was an ancient and a noble one. It descended from the Kings of Navarre and claimed the blood of the Cid Campeador. In the times of Ferdinand, first king of Castile, an Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza bore already the title of Count of Alva, but the Castilian history of the family does not begin until our Poet's grandfather, Peter Gonzalez de Mendoza, served the Kings Henry II and John I, who made the Basque nobleman Lord of Hita, Buitrago, Guadalajara and Real de Manzanares; it was the reward of a devotion and loyalty which ended with a romantic death on the field of Aljubarrota, where Don Peter sacrificed his life to save that of his King, defeated by the son of Teresa Lourenço in a battle, the result of which is one of the causes of Portuguese national independence.[1]

The Poet's father, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, was not only Grand Admiral of Castile, but also one of the richest men in the kingdom. After the death of his first wife, a sister of King John I, this 'man of subtle wit', who much annoyed Henry III by his caustic outspokenness[2] and 'took much pleasure in women',

[1] The beautiful Romance which sings the death of Don Peter beginning:

El caballo vos han muerto,
Subid, rey, en mi caballo

is apocryphal, and was written much later by the dramatist Alfonso Hurtado de Velarde, who died in 1638.

[2] Fernan Perez de Guzmán, Lord of Batres (1376?–1460?, uncle of the Marquis of Santillana), *Generaciones, Semblanças y Obras*, Chapter IX. The latest edition is that of Sr. Domínguez

married Dona Leonor de la Vega, *rica hembra de las Asturias de Santillana*, widow of Don John of Castile, by whom he had three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Don Garcia, died in 1403, the Admiral in the summer of 1404; so that Don Iñigo succeeded to his father's estate and titles when he was only five years old.

This succession was a source of infinite trouble, and for some time Dona Leonor could only secure for her child the recognition of the Lordships of Buitrago (November 1404) and Hita (March 1405). Dona Aldonza, half-sister of the boy and wife of the terrible Fadrique de Castro, Count of Trastamara, lead the opposition of the other brothers who claimed the town of Real de Manzanares. An uncle, the Lord of Rello, took possession of an important property in Guadalajara, and Garci Fernandez Manrique entered the valleys of Santillana which he held under a privilege granted by John I to his daughter Aldonza, and terrorized them with the help of a bloodthirsty ruffian named Garci Gonzalez Orejon. But the activity, resource, and judgement of Iñigo's mother was equal to all or most difficulties. The Regents Don Ferdinand and the Queen-mother Catherine, daughter of John of Gaunt, appointed the Bishop of Sigüenza to arbitrate, the formal recognition of the claims followed, but years passed before some of them were effectively established;

Bordona (*Clásicos Castellanos*; Madrid 1924). This collection of character-sketches constitutes the third part of the *Mar de Historias*. The same author wrote a poetical composition *Loores de los Claros Varones de España* which is frequently confused with the prose work of Fernando del Pulgar (1436–93), *Libro de los Claros Varones de Castilla* (1486), last published by Sr. Domínguez Bordona in *Clásicos Castellanos*, 1923.

in the case of the valleys of Santillana the question remained doubtful and a source of wealth to lawyers innumerable until the seventeenth century. In 1408 the Count of Trastamara handed over Real de Manzanares, and the Lord of Rello was forced to recognize the future Marquis's claims to the properties in Guadalajara.

Dona Leonor was meanwhile securing other and, as it seemed, more important protection for the interests of her young son. The old Chancellor Peter Lopez de Ayala, the author of the *Rimado de Palacio* and one of the heroes of the struggle against Peter the Cruel and the Black Prince, had died in 1407. He was Iñigo's great-uncle, and had acted with John Hurtado de Mendoza as tutor and trustee. In this period of social and political upheaval some influential personal connection became imperative, and on the 17th August 1408 marriage articles were signed in Ocaña according to which the future Marquis was to wed Catherine, and his sister Elvira the son of Suarez de Figueroa, Grand Master of the Order of St. James, and one of the most powerful men in Castile. Elvira and Catherine were each to receive fifteen thousand gold florins, and in a *carta de arras*, signed by Iñigo's grandmother, Dona Mencia de Cisneros, and by his mother, the gifts of the infant bridegroom to his bride are set out, raising before our eyes a vision of magnificent gold embroidered cloths and silks. One of the main objects of Dona Leonor was not realized, for in the following year the Grand Master died. Their arrangements were, however, ratified in June 1412, and in 1416, when the bridegroom was approaching his eighteenth birthday, the wedding

took place in Salamanca. His childhood and his early youth had come to an end, and he was about to commence the *navegacion en este vexado e trabaxoso golpho* —to steer his own ship over stormy and difficult seas.

§ 3

What impressions may we suppose the young Lord of Hita received in his early childhood?

The only personal and direct testimony is to be found in the *Letter* to the Constable of Portugal, Don Peter, which is reprinted in this volume. It suggests a charming picture of 'a young boy under the guardianship of his grandmother Dona Mencia de Cisneros' reading lyrical poetry, compositions in the Portuguese and Galician language, many of them by the King Don Dinis of Portugal, 'subtle conceits of sweet and graceful words'.[1] These manuscripts in the house of the old lady had belonged to Garcilaso de la Vega, and to the boy's grandfather Peter Gonzalez de Mendoza.

Literature was in the air. Don Peter Gonzalez de Mendoza was a writer of *Serranillas*. Iñigo found in his family a tradition of popular song clothed in literary form. His father, the Admiral Don Diego, 'that man of subtle wit, a brilliant and daring talker', had been a poet. Although none of his poems found their way into the great anthology of the fifteenth century compiled by Alfonso de Baena, yet some of them are preserved in a manuscript kept in the library of the King of Spain.[2] They reveal the erotic temperament ascribed to him by Fernan Perez de

[1] *Prohemio* xv.

[2] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos*, vol. iv, p. lxiv.

Guzman. There is a ravishing *Cossante* (a dance in the manner of the Italian *Ballata*):

A aquel arbol que mueve la foxa,
Algo se le antoxa . . .[1]

and a *serranilla*:

Un dia desta semana,
Partiendo de mi ostal,
Vi pasar gentil serrana
Que en mi vida non vi tal.

His uncle, Peter Velez de Guevara,[2] is well represented in the *Cancionero de Baena*, and another uncle Fernan Perez de Guzman was not only the author of the collection of masterly biographies already quoted, but also of fourteen poems which are to be found in the anthology.

There was a local tradition in Carrion of 'a Jew called Rabi Santo',[3] whose *Proverbios Morales* were to exercise so strong an influence on the future Marquis. Hita, the home of the Archpriest, the greatest Spanish writer before Cervantes, was only a few miles distant from Guadalajara. These circumstances help one to understand how this boy naturally grew into a Grand Seigneur with a passionate and almost touching love of literature and knowledge, and became the great collector of books who brought together one of the most important libraries in Spain of the late Middle Ages.

[1] Sr. Henriquez Ureña (*La Versificación irregular en la Poesía Castellana*, Publicaciones de la Revista de Filología Española, Madrid, 1920) thinks, when reading it, of Keats's 'Dance, and Provençal song, and sun-burnt mirth . . .'

[2] See note to *Prohemio*, p. 82, l. 10.

[3] See note to p. 80, l. 19.

He was educated with his cousin Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, Count of Alva, his constant companion and lifelong friend, whose uncle, the Archdeacon of Guadalajara, was later to supervise the education of Don Iñigo's growing children, and was now directing that of his two young nephews. This friendship is one of the most charming and permanent features in the life of the Poet, and after his death his learned chaplain Peter Diaz de Toledo, the translator of Plato's *Phaedo*, compared his relationship to the classical instances known in history.

But no man loomed larger in the Poet's early life than his great-uncle the Chancellor of Castile, Peter Lopez de Ayala, 'the old one who wrote a book on the manners of the Court'[1]. He died in 1407 and Iñigo must often have seen him during the first nine years of his life, for he was his tutor and trustee. He must have remained a living memory in the family, and his work certainly made a profound impression. What memories of the past the old man could evoke! His life went back to the middle of the fourteenth century, when he was a page of the terrible King Peter; he had been in the service of Ferdinand of Aragon, he had abandoned his lawful king when the star of the bastard House of Trastamara was rising and Peter and the Black Prince were beaten, and he had every reason to remember those English knights who had made him a prisoner on the field of Najera (3rd April 1367). After the disastrous battle

[1] Santillana calls the work *Maneras de Palacio*, but it is usually described as the *Rimado de Palacio*, the title given to it by Perez de Guzman, nephew of the Chancellor.

of Aljubarrota the Portuguese had locked him in an iron cage, and here his bitterness took poetic form. He returned to Castile in 1387, was made a Councillor of the Regency during the minority of Henry III, and became finally Grand Chancellor of the Kingdom. Perhaps his young nephew heard from his own lips some of these expressions of past bitterness:

> Lord, forget me not,
> for I am much distressed, in irons and chains imprisoned;

and the denunciation of the frightful anarchy which was one of the consequences of the schism of the Church, followed by a resignation which is the fruit of higher wisdom:

> What has become of the rich Lords and all their might,
> Where is their vain-glory, their proud spirit?
> It all has passed, it flowed like river-waters.

This man was not only a poet but the author of a masterpiece of medieval historiography, the 'Chronicle of the King Don Peter'; he was the translator of Boethius, of St. Gregory, of the *Historia Troyana* of Guido delle Colonne, of the *De casibus virorum illustrium* of Boccaccio, he had seen foreign lands, had been to Paris on missions to Charles V and Charles VI of France. He was the marvel of his age and an inspiration to his nephew.

The early years of Iñigo coincide with a lull in the process of social decomposition and feudal chaos that marks the advent of the bastard dynasty of Trastamara. He was nearly twelve years old when great news reached his house. The Regent Don Ferdinand had,

so the tidings went, won a signal victory over the Infidels. It was one of the last of the great stepping-stones to the final victory of the Cross over the Crescent in Spain, the battle of Antequera on the 24th July 1410, when the Regent led his army to victory with the sword of St. Ferdinand and the pennant of St. Isidore, which had been carried south from Leon for the great encounter. Don Ferdinand was the last of the great crusaders, like so many before him, a crusader by political necessity rather than by inclination, for, it seems, his warlike operations were due to a desire to curb the dangerous activities of the feudal peers. Adventurers, knights, lords, and princes flocked to his banners. The Duke of Austerlitz, the Count of Luxemburg, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Earl of Claremont had offered their services, and four years later his career of political wisdom and military achievement was rewarded with the crown of Aragon. The decision of the nine councillors at Caspe fell on the Regent of Castile and he was crowned in Zaragoza in June 1414. This occasion was the first in which Iñigo came into contact with the great world which was to be his. He joined the throng of Castilian noblemen who were making their way to the city of Our Lady of the Pillar to take part in the festivities which greatly excited the imagination of that age. Literature had its share in the proceedings. Compositions by the unhappy Henry de Villena, a member of the royal family, were publicly recited, and here the young Lord of Hita made the acquaintance and won the friendship of this strange and restless man who initiated him into the world of

Dantesque allegory, the works of the medieva wizard Virgil, and the rules and conventions of Provençal poetry, and, no doubt, the difficult art of good cooking in which Henry took a lively interest, if we may judge by his *Arte Cisoria*. Here he also saw the poet Villasandino who, thanks to the generosity of Ferran Manuel de Lando, was promenading the streets of Zaragoza in his 'dressy clothes'.

Iñigo was finding himself. His first devotions under the Romanesque arches of Santa Maria del Camino in Carrion de los Condes, or under the Gothic architecture of St. Paul's in Valladolid, were not the prayers of the graceful boy of later fiction who, accompanied by his two hounds, but without human protection, made his way to the Court from his native northern province to try his luck. He was an aristocrat, the son of the richest man in Castile, related to politicians and courtiers, brought up in an atmosphere of literature and culture. Thus he came to be a man of all trades. 'Knowledge does not blunt the point of the lance,' he said later.

§ 4

In the year the Poet married, the Regent Ferdinand, King of Aragon, died. Two years later, in 1418, Catherine the English Queen-mother, granddaughter of Peter the Cruel of Castile, and daughter of John of Gaunt, followed him. The old régime had come to an end. New and fearful signs appeared everywhere. A reign of feudal terror began and continued intermittently until the Catholic Queen stamped it out

with 'frightful anatomies'. The first consequence for the Lord of Hita, now deprived of the strong and ordering hand of the Regent, was that the Count of Trastamara renewed his pretensions to Real de Manzanares.

Don Iñigo's family was growing. In 1417 Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the future Duke del Infantado, was born. He mourned the death of his grandmother Dona Mencia de Cisneros in December 1418, whom he remembers so charmingly in the *Letter* to the Constable of Portugal. Then the King John II was declared of age. Every circumstance in the career of this unhappy Prince affected the life of the Marquis, and an outline of the facts which explain this interaction is necessary. The Chronicles of Don John II and Don Alvaro de Luna supply information and make superb reading.

The favourite as an appanage to sovereignty is an ever-reappearing fact. In the Monarchy of the Spains he was to become a recognized public institution. The English mother of King John had delegated much of her power to two women, two *Privadas*, Dona Leonor Lopez de Cordoba, and later to Ines de Torres, the cousin of the poet Ferran Manuel de Lando. Fernan Perez de Guzman specially notes that 'she was much subjected to her favourites and much ruled by them, which, in most cases, is a general failing of Princes', and her energies were misspent in throwing obstacles in the way of the wise and politic Ferdinand of Antequera. But her regency was short-lived, and her disturbing influence did not alter fundamentally the chain of events. Her son was weak, vacillating, sensitive, a patron of letters and a lover of fine

manners, and with the maternal example before his eyes and his inclinations to prompt him, he found in the young Alvaro de Luna the companion of his heart's desire, a youth of accomplished manners, a suave and cunning politician only too ready to assume royal responsibilities, a poet, a courtly and gallant prose writer of some importance,[1] an enchanter and a charmer of supreme tact, united to his royal friend in a common detestation of feudal barbarism. No wonder that in his trial the charge of witchcraft was brought against him, so powerfully, it seemed, had he enslaved the mind of the King. The Chronicle is more to the point: *Con maneras exquisitas auia procurado gran familiaridad del dicho Rey*, and his exquisite manners, his noble grace, were remembered for centuries. At moments it looked as if he was to anticipate the great work of Cardinal Cisneros who established the Monarchy on a rock of bronze.

Alvaro de Luna was a bastard in an age of bastards. The bastard of Trastamara had laid hands on the throne of Castile. The bastard John I was the founder of the Portuguese dynasty. Philip the Good, the Founder of the Order of the Golden Fleece, had sixteen bastards, John of Burgundy, Bishop of Cambray, thirty-six, and the Count of Cleves reached the number of sixty-three. Alvaro was the natural son of the Lord of Juvera, Alfaro, Cornago and Cañete, an Aragonese partisan of Henry of Trastamara. His mother was the faithless wife of the commander of the stronghold of Cañete. He grew up in distinguished surroundings under the tutorship of Don John Martinez de Luna,

[1] He was author of the *Libro de las virtuosas e claras mujeres*.

who had been standard-bearer to the Regent Ferdinand. At an early age he was taken to the Court by his uncle Don Peter de Luna, Archbishop of Toledo. Since 1412 he had been the most intimate friend of the growing King.

The first move of King John, after his effective reign had begun, was to deprive himself of the services, the experience, and the counsel of a man who, in the lifetime of his mother, 'had held in his hands all the doings of the Kingdom', the Good Constable Don Ruy Lopez Davalos. The King found himself confronted by two powerful external enemies, the Princes Henry and John, sons of the King-Regent Ferdinand, yet as unlike their father as could be. Henry was Grand Master of the Military Order of St. James, the wealthy Don John was the successful suitor of Blanche, Princess of Navarre. A shameful comedy was enacted (at the time when the Treaty of Troyes handed France over to the English.) Henry of Aragon seized the person of the King in Tordesillas and made Avila his centre. Don John, whose prestige was great, thanks to his connection with the house of Navarre, established his head-quarters at Cuellar. King John had to empty the bitter cup to the dregs. He was forced to convoke Cortes which were to legalize this *Pronunciamiento*. Henry married the Infanta Catherine. In November 1420 the King escaped from Talavera, went first to Villalba, which he had to abandon, 'for it could not be defended', and then took refuge in the stronghold of Montalvan. The beleaguered garrison was in great difficulties and the King was forced to have his charger slaughtered for the benefit of his followers.

The enemy allowed him a jug of wine, a piece of bread and a chicken, mornings and evenings, 'out of courtesy', but the situation became desperate, when the Infant Don John, urged by his followers, and unwilling to let the King fall into the hands of his brother, moved from Olmedo and forced Henry to abandon the siege and his hopes of supremacy. Don Iñigo had been among the officers of the Infant Don Henry, he had in Avila thrown in his lot with the Prince of Aragon, he had taken part in the unsuccessful siege of Montalvan, and he, his cousin Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo and his uncle Ferdinand Perez de Guzman were amongst the last to abandon the rebellious standards.

Politically the Marquis was medieval. He belonged by birth and education to the faction of those turbulent nobles, to any faction that could hope to increase feudal liberty and family power at the expense of the Crown. He lived in a world of brutal struggle, of savagery hardly tempered by the weakened ideals of dying chivalry, and yet strangely allied with a high level of individual culture and accomplishment. Chivalry had lost its religious justification. An ever-increasing importance was attached to the external trappings in an effort to preserve the substance, and Santillana himself wrote a treatise on an heraldic subject which is now lost. It was the baroque phase of Gothic civilization.

From the first the Poet was destined to be the mortal enemy of the Constable in whom history attempted a tragic masterpiece, the Minister of an absolute king, a Cisneros, a Richelieu born before his time, perhaps a Lewis VIII without a throne.

The duel ended in a short-lived victory of Santillana's party.

Meanwhile after the Poet had abandoned the ill-starred banners, and the Infant of Aragon had been locked up in Madrid (June 1422), he returned to Guadalajara and plunged with renewed zest into a family quarrel concerning some water pipes. There was much to be done. The Real de Manzanares was divided between Dona Aldonza and Don Iñigo, an arrangement which the latter never accepted, and later declared null and void. Then there was an armistice and he could turn to his books. The remote allegorical world of Dante attracted once more his attention, and a correspondence followed with Don Henry de Villena, the pioneer of Italian art, who had already dedicated to his friend his *Arte de Trobar*, the first and oldest of several Castilian Poetics.

The struggle with the Infants of Aragon had ended in the victory of King John, but the beaten foe did not fare badly. John became King of Navarre and Henry was released from captivity, thanks to the good offices of King Alfonso of Aragon who was acting on behalf of the King of Navarre. Meanwhile all the talk at the Court was about the death of John Hurtado de Mendoza, Grand Major Domo of the King, whose place was taken by Alvaro de Luna. The temper of the feudal party was rising. Don Henry did not keep his word. His star was in the ascendant and, encouraged by the King of Navarre, he became the champion of discontent. The Military Orders of Alcántara and Calatrava were on the side of the Barons, the party of the Poet. A meeting was arranged and took place

in St. Paul's in Valladolid and an ultimatum was presented to the King. Alvaro was tried, and the sentence of November 1427 imposed an exile of one year and a half. It was immediately revoked by the King, and the splendour and power of the great favourite became greater than ever, but the rebellious Henry counted now on the help of his brother, the King of Navarre.

In 1428 Don Iñigo's sixth son was born, Peter Gonzalez de Mendoza, the future Grand Cardinal of Spain. Slowly, with infinite prudence, he was changing his political allegiance. The Court recognized his good will, the King made him a Councillor, he was received with courtesy by the favourite in Segovia, and when in 1429 the conflict with Aragon finally lead to open war, he and many another noble lord were forced to show their cards. After much doubt and hesitation, reluctantly and late, the Poet and the Duke of Arjona (Don Fadrique de Castro) joined the Royal army. They were long overdue and the King and Don Alvaro were disgusted. However, their excuses were accepted in Santiestevan, and the Lord of Hita completely won the confidence of King John. The campaign promised well, although Henry was at that moment burning and sacking Estremadura. Monreal and Ariza were taken. Don Iñigo and his cousin Fernan Alvarez de Toledo, with Pero Fernandez de Velasco, remained as *Fronteros*, commanders of the frontier, and near Agreda they soon had in November 1429 a chance to make splendid amends for the errors of the past. On the field of Araviana the Poet's small force encountered a three times larger one commanded by Ruy Diaz de Mendoza 'the Bald',

and of three hundred men only forty remained at Don Iñigo's side. But they stood firmly, and 'the Navarrese did not fight with them again, and they remained all the time on the field until the enemy returned to the place he had come from'. The future Marquis received a splendid reward from the King for his timely services. He was not the kind of man who hides his light under a bushel, and the *mercedes* of the King fell like a summer rain after the confiscation in 1429 of the Castilian properties of the King of Navarre and the Infant Henry. Don Iñigo received twelve Lordships.

His first Aragonese war had been a personal success, even if he had won no signal victory. It had begun gaily, pen in hand:

> Uno pienssa 'l vayo
> e otro el que l'onsilla,
> non sera grand maravilla,
> pues tan cerca viene el Mayo,
> que se vistan negro sayo
> navarros e aragoneses,
> e que pierdan los arneses
> en las faldas de Moncayo.[1]

(To which the Aragonese John de Dueñas replied, 'Some in Castile babble more than parrots'.) During the campaign he wrote his first two Serranillas, *Serranillas de Moncayo* and *En toda la su Montaña*, flowers from the fields of Agreda, charming in a simplicity which is more apparent than real, exquisitely

[1] *Decir contra los aragoneses.* See *Canciones y Decires*, ed. Vicente Garcia de Diego (*Clásicos Castellanos*).

delicate in design, sweetly painted with colours borrowed from ancestral folk-songs. Meanwhile Alvaro de Luna became Grand Master of the Order of St. James in place of the rebellious Henry. His omnipotence was officially consecrated.[1]

The year 1430 was taken up once more by domestic business. Don Iñigo travelled north and visited his much disputed inheritance in the Asturias de Santillana. After long quarrels with Manrique he returned from his tour of inspection to Guadalajara, busied himself with the reorganization of the monastery of Sopetrán and found time to turn to his ever growing library. The *Pregunta de Nobles*, dedicated to Henry de Villena, was the fruit of this leisure.

The Moors were almost forgotten in this period of transition from the Middle Ages to the Renascence, years of feverish internal fermentation. They were no longer formidable, no urgent appeal of religious enthusiasm banded together dispersed forces for national enterprise, the lances had become more fit for jousts and tournaments in days when the ideals of chivalry had become conventional, and the new arts of the courtier-politician, the experience of the civil administrator were more expedient than the brutal strength of the sword. Yet from time to time expeditions were undertaken. The King of Granada had asked for a renewal of the armistice, and in reply King John required the payment of the *parias*, the tribute which was the periodical

[1] The official peace with the Infantes of Antequera was not signed until December 1436 in Casal de Soma near Naples, when Alfonso V, King of Aragon, undertook that they should not set foot in Castile without a royal command.

price of peace. The Moorish Prince showed little hurry, and the Christian troops marched south. The Lord of Hita was amongst his men as their commander. They burned and plundered in the Vega de Granada, while their captain had to stay behind in Córdoba (1431) suffering from an illness. Many gallant deeds were done, especially by the men of Hita, whose banner was carried by Perez de Guzman, Lord of Batres (we have already made his acquaintance as the author of the *Generaciones y Semblanças*). But the enterprise that had begun so auspiciously trickled out into desultory ineffectualness, due to dissension in the Christian camp. Gutierre Gomez de Toledo, Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, Perez de Guzman, and Peter Fernandez de Velasco, the 'good' Count of Haro, rose up once more against the Constable who still ruled the mind of the King. An open conflict was avoided with difficulty, but the camp was broken up, and in Zamora (1432) Don Alvaro ordered the arrest of the ringleaders, amongst them the Count of Haro and the Lord of Batres, on charges of treasonable communication with Navarre. Our Poet waited and watched from his towers of Hita, a fortress well provided against any emergency, and, when the King wrote to set his mind at rest, he still thought that prudence was the better part of valour, stayed where he was, and answered that *lo non facía por cosa de aquello*, he did not do it for *that* reason, much offended as he was with the King for his breach of the promise not to allow any sentence to be pronounced concerning his properties during his absence in the war.

In the same year the Marquis lost his mother, Dona

Leonor,[1] who had so faithfully defended the interests of her son. He now became Lord of the Vega, those valleys in Santillana, the name of which the Marquis chose as his title. The testament was a source of more family troubles, as the notorious Dona Aldonza had been disinherited, a just punishment for her outrageous behaviour.

Once more the Poet turned towards the Court. He tried to conciliate the King, and with the King the favourite. In 1433 we see him, during the Cortes convoked in Madrid, taking part in a brilliant joust and entertaining the Constable to supper; in 1435 he entertained the King in Buitrago. On this occasion ambassadors arrived from the Queens of Navarre and Aragon asking for an armistice. The naval defeat of Ponza, a momentary set-back to the Aragonese predominance in Italy, was still unknown at that moment, but the evil tidings came soon afterwards, and probably the Marquis sketched now his *Comedieta* which offered consolation to the afflicted royal ladies, although he did not dedicate it (together with the *Sonnets* and the *Proverbs*) until nine years later to the Countess of Módica, Dona Violante de Prades. In 1436 the King honoured with his presence the wedding of Iñigo's eldest son, Diego, the future Duke of Infantado, with Brianda de Luna, daughter of John Hurtardo de Mendoza and Maria de Luna, cousin of the Constable. He dedicated his *Proverbs*[2]

[1] Pulgar dates her death much earlier.

[2] Translated into English by Googe (Richarde Watkins. London 1579) under the title *The Prouerbes of Sir James Lopez de Mendoza.* This volume contains also the Paraphrase of Peter Diaz de Toledo.

to the King, was appointed Captain of Cordoba and of Jaen, and engaged on his second expedition to Andalusia, accompanied by his sons, the Count of Tendilla and Peter Laso. Before leaving he made it a condition that the eternal lawsuits should remain in abeyance during the war.

Meanwhile (December 1433) the unhappy Don Henry de Villena, Santillana's literary mentor, had died. Don Inigo must have mourned the loss of this strange man deeply. What he thought of the posthumous burning of his library by the King, cousin of the supposed necromancer, which was fortunately executed under the discreet direction of Lope Barrientos, a cleric who saved many of the books from the flames, we know not. He wrote the *Defunssion de don Enrique de Villena* in memory of his friend. It is like a heavy marble monument, cold and stately, childishly over-decorated with classical allusions. This is the lament of the 'nine virgins who, with loosened hair, tearing their faces like daughters who have lost a much-beloved father, say':

> Perdimos a Livio e al Mantuano,
> Macrobio, Valerio, Salustio, Magneo,
> Pues non olvidemos al moral Enneo,
> De quien se laudava el pueblo romano:
> Perdimos a Tullio e a Cassaliano,
> Alano, Boeçio, Petrarcha, Fulgençio;
> Perdimos a Dante, Gaufredo, Terençio,
> Juvenal, Estaçio e Quintiliano.

Here we meet the book-proud nobleman. Only one year later the Poet produced a charming com-

position during his visit to the valleys of the north, as different from such pedantry in its racy, yet delicate flavour of popular song as could be:

Moçuela de Bores
Alla do la Lama
Pusom'en amores.
. . . . .
Dixo: 'Cavallero,
Tiratvos a fuera:
Dexat la vaquera
Passar al otero;
Ca dos labradores
Me piden de Frama,
Entrambos pastores.
'Señora, pastor
Sere si queredes:
Mandarme podedes,
Como a servidor:
Mayores dulçores
Sera a mi la brama
Que oyr ruyseñores.'
Asi concluymos
El nuestro proçesso
Sin facer exçesso
E nos avenimos.
E fueron las flores
De cabe Espinama
Los encobridores.

The Poet returned from Andalusia and found that a sentence, most damaging to his interests, had been pronounced. It is not difficult to imagine his feelings against Alvaro de Luna. He came home elated by military success. Huelma had been besieged,

the King of Granada had sent an expedition for the relief of the city, and the younger Iñigo had killed its leader with his own hand. Santillana had been negotiating with the enemy, trying to impose most advantageous conditions, when the bad news reached him. He had concluded a treaty with the Moors in April 1439, and now he found that he had been beaten by the lawyers, and that the Count of Castañeda was laughing up his sleeve and terrorizing the valleys.

It is time to follow more closely the outlines of the struggle between the Constable and the Lords. We have seen the Marquis slowly and carefully steer his ship, so as not to cross the course of the royal favourite's powerful vessel. He had been cautious, prudent, and he thought he had some claim to recognition for his services on the southern frontier. He now changed. The Admiral Don Fadrique had raised the standard of rebellion. His faction had addressed a letter to the King, in which the opinion was expressed that Don Alvaro held *ligadas e atadas todas sus potencias corporales e intelectuales por magicas e diabolicas encantaciones*, 'bound and chained the powers of his mind and body by magic and diabolical charms'. Iñigo hesitated no longer, and threw in his lot with the malcontents. Don Alvaro had to give in on some points, and the Prince Don Henry, the weak and ignoble son of King John and brother of the Infanta, who was later to be known as Isabella the Catholic, was married to Blanche of Navarre, whom the Poet and other noblemen received at the frontier, and at whose feet the Poet-ambassador laid the flowery tribute of one of his songs:

Quantos mas vos miraran,
muy excelente princesa,
tanto mas vos loaran.

The memories of the journey took shape in the *Serranilla*, one of the best Santillana wrote:

De Vytoria me partia
un dia desta semana,
por me passar a Alegria,
do vi moça lepuzcana.

The object of the match was to increase the influence of the King of Navarre, the most powerful adversary of the antifeudal and centralizing policy of Don Alvaro. The result was that the Prince of the Asturias became the head of the Constable's enemies. He was ruled by his favourite Don John Pacheco, the future Marquis of Villena.

The Constable fought with every weapon. He advised the King to bestow the city of Guadalajara on his son, the Prince, thus punishing the disloyal vassal and attracting back to the Court the erratic Don Henry. Iñigo received the royal messengers with disgust. Soon it came to open warfare, and after the Poet had taken Alcalá, he was seriously wounded by an arrow in the battle of Torote, to the immense satisfaction of the Archbishop of Toledo. But the great deed was accomplished: on the 9th July 1441 sentence was pronounced by the reluctant and trembling King on Don Alvaro. He was exiled from the Court for six years, he was to remain in Riaza and San Martin de Valdeiglesias, and his friends were ruthlessly removed from the royal household. Don Iñigo, who had just recovered from

his wound, was chosen to insure the fulfilment of these leonine impositions. The triumph was complete. As the master of the person of the King he accompanied him to Madrigal and Avila; as the master of the Constable he had the satisfaction of granting him a safe-conduct. Then, suddenly, Don Alvaro returned.

Events travelled swiftly. The King, Don John, became a prisoner of the King of Navarre. In the summer of 1443 he wrote from Medina del Campo, where he was guarded, a letter to his vassals. A national reaction against Aragon and Navarre was the consequence, and Iñigo made peace at home to join the banners of Prince Henry in Burgos for his second campaign against the eastern kingdom. On the field of Pampliega the King of Navarre had a narrow escape. The King of Castile was free, and the Poet, after all these years, was finally confirmed in the possession of his valleys which, however, did not become effective until his son and heir had the most stubborn partisan of the Manriques executed in Ventanilla, after every horror and treason of peasant warfare.

But the King of Aragon recovered, and soon the Lords were again in open rebellion, under the leadership of Don Peter Tellez de Giron, Grand Master of Calatrava and the favourite of the Prince of the Asturias, a circumstance that turned the struggle into a dynastic tragedy. Early in 1445 the armies advanced towards Olmedo. In May a decisive battle was fought, which ended in a complete victory[1] for Don Alvaro,

[1] Don Alvaro employed the services of the adventurer and Condottiere Rodrigo de Villandrando, notorious in France and feared in Spain.

who was wounded. The Infant Henry of Aragon died in consequence of a wound in his hand. The Constable became Grand Master of St. James, the Poet Marquis of Santillana and Count of the Real de Manzanares. It had not only been an honourable but also a profitable day.

The following years were comparatively quiet. His sons were making great strides. Peter Gonzalez, the future Grand Cardinal, was made, while still a student at Salamanca, a Protonotary Apostolic. Don Iñigo, anxious to gain closer acquaintance with the classics, invited his son, who possessed the key to that new world of the spirit, to translate Homer, Virgil, and Ovid. There was some desultory warfare with the Aragonese, but the great event was the marriage of the King in 1446 with Isabel of Portugal, whom the Poet describes to us graced with such fairness 'as Giotto could not have painted her'[1]. She owed the match and her crown to the Constable, and never forgave him for it. She did what the King of Navarre, the Princes of Aragon, and the Grandees of Castile had been unable to do. She destroyed him. The Marquis had begun his song to her: 'May God make you as virtuous, blessed Queen, as He made you beautiful', and God made her virtuous after the Poet's desire.

In the spring of 1448 Don Alvaro had imprisoned, amongst other turbulent nobles, the Count of Alva, the beloved cousin of the Marquis, who now offered his companion and relative consolation in a dialogue *Bias*

[1] *Cancion á la Reina*, *Canciones y Decires*, ed. Garcia de Diego, p. 229.

contra Fortuna, which he crammed with good advice, moral maxims, Stoic arguments, and an inordinate pride in classical commonplaces, which, however, are not derived from the originals, but from the ubiquitous *Libellus de vita et moribus philosophorum*, the Spanish translation of which enjoyed great popularity. In July 1449 the Barons, amongst them the Crown Prince, congregated in Coruña del Conde. The Count of Haro and Santillana were elected spokesmen. Alvaro's skill was, so it seemed for a moment, able to avert the storm once more. He treated with the King of Navarre, who abandoned as a consequence his Castilian followers. But nothing could stop the onslaught of fate. The Queen intrigued, the King was like wax. Alvaro himself hesitated and went as far as offering his abdication.[1] Another pause occurred, due to renewed hostilities on the Aragonese frontier, but the inevitable happened. Alvaro de Estuñiga, the son of the Count of Plasencia and Diego, son of the Marquis, marched on Valladolid to seize the great Constable. He took refuge in Burgos where the King, cowed by the Queen and the nobles, agreed abjectly to let the great minister fall into the trap. On Good Friday, 1453, Alvaro lost his nerve and killed Alonso de Vivero, treasurer to the King, perhaps in the hope of striking terror into the heart of his enemies. On the 5th April his house was surrounded, and he was taken prisoner. On the 5th July he was executed publicly in Valladolid. The Marquis pursued his enemy after death. He had

[1] He advised the King, if it were accepted, to appoint a council, and suggested Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the son and heir of the Marquis, as a Councillor.

spoken well of Ruy Diaz de Mendoza, 'the Bald One', his opponent at Araviana. In Alvaro he could only see a pushing parvenu, a man possessed by the desire for wealth, the enemy of the Peers and of the people. In the *Dotrinal de Privados*[1] untempered animosity finds violent expression. Santillana was a medieval Grand Seigneur. That Don Alvaro had been the greatest politician of the Peninsula, a martyr of the new age, he could not see. Royal favourites there must needs always be. Hardly was Don Alvaro dead when the Marquis of Villena became an object of suspicion. That a statesman should have been the favourite was a marvellous coincidence.

King John died in the summer of 1454, and went to rest amongst the Carthusians of Miraflores. The last months of his life had been overshadowed by the divorce of his son, who now ascended the throne at the age of twenty-nine. One of his first acts was to send an ambassador to the Pope, Nicolas V, and he chose for this mission the son of the Marquis, young Iñigo, the future Count of Tendilla. In the following spring, after he had called the Cortes at Cuellar, he marched once more south against the Moors. For the last time the Poet rode in armour. During this campaign, in Jaen, he gave his last orders concerning the hospital of Buitrago, where his image, painted by George the Englishman, was to remain as a memorial. But he returned alive from the war, after having admired the magnificence of Seville:

[1] It seems that there are two versions of the work, and a comparison between them suggests interesting questions. See R. de Uhagon in *Revista de Archivos*, July 1900, p. 390.

Roma en el mundo e vos en España
Soys solas cibdades ciertamente,
Formosa Ispalis, sola por façaña,
Corona de la Betica exçellente.[1]

The Marquis, like the patriarchal Cid of the Cantar, had been a good husband and a good father of his seven sons and of the three daughters who are made to sing so prettily in the *Villancico* he dedicated to them. At this time Peter Lasso de la Vega died, his *suavissimo fijo*, sweetest son,[2] his natural child whom he preferred to the others. His wife Dona Catalina de Figueroa followed him, and in the next year his friend, the poet John de Mena, fell a victim in Torrelaguna to a 'rabid pain in his side'. Mena had glorified the Marquis in his *Coronacion*, where he sees the Muses crown the noble Poet. Now the Marquis, it is said, erected a sumptuous tomb to his friend in Torrelaguna, but one memorial outlasted the other, for of the tomb there was no trace as early as in the sixteenth century. Santillana left this world for the Blessed Fields, 'where those ladies dance without cease round the Fount of Helicon', on the 25th March 1458. At his deathbed were present his cousin and lifelong friend the Count of Alva and his learned

[1] Sonnet XXXIII. Text of Amador de los Rios.

[2] John de Lucena in his *De Vita Beata*, second part, puts this expression into the mouth of Don Iñigo in the scene in which the poet John de Mena describes his noble friend surrounded by his children and grandchildren. He asks the Bishop of Burgos if happiness is not to be found in paternity, and, when the learned prelate answers him, Santillana feels anew the pain of his loss. See *Opúsculos Literarios*, ed. Páz y Mélia, *Bibliófilos Españoles*, p. 186.

Chaplain, Peter Diaz de Toledo,[1] the translator of the *Phaedon*. After his death Diego de Burgos, his secretary, had a vision which he described in his *Triunfo del Marques*. This picture is, however, less the result of second sight and tragic premonition than of the careful literary education the author had received at the hands of Don Iñigo, for it follows closely the composition of the dead Poet's *Comedieta de Ponza*. Henry de Villena, Don Alonso Bishop of Burgos, the Bishop of Avila, the poet John de Mena, Peter Gonzalez de Mendoza the victim of Aljubarrota, and Garcilaso de la Vega, son of Gomez Manrique, are made to praise the illustrious Marquis.

Anton de Zorita, in the preface to his translation of Bonnet's *Arbre des Batailles*, wrote:

'there is a jewel which you possess in a higher degree than any of your peers . . . it is the love of learning, and you love it truly with such affection, you look for it with such zest that, however busy you may be, . . . there is no day in the world that you do not read the works of the philosophers and poets, or Holy Scripture or the historians, robbing time from your rest and the pleasures of your bed...'

Gomez Manrique, whose fame has been obscured by the famous masterpiece of his nephew George Manrique, the *Coplas* to the death of his father, the Grand Master of the Order of St. James, considered himself a 'spiritual son' of his uncle the Marquis of Santillana. He wrote *El Planto de las Virtudes e Poesia, por el Magnifico señor Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza*, dedicated to the Bishop of Calahorra, Don

[1] He wrote an account of what passed in the *Diálogo é razonamiento en la muerte del Marqués de Santillana*. See *Opúsculos Literarios, Bibliofilos Españoles*, p. 247.

Peter Gonzalez de Mendoza, who later became Grand Cardinal of Spain.

But the picture drawn by Fernando del Pulgar is the most memorable: the Poet

'was a man of penetrating and well balanced mind, so full of spirit that great things did not upset him and he did not willingly have part in small ones . . . He was an excellent speaker . . . courteously he honoured those who came to him, especially men of learning. . . . Most abstemious in drink and food . . . a valorous knight, but before an action prudent and self-possessed, in it full of cunning and daring: and his daring was not without prudence, nor was there ever any cowardice in his common sense . . . He knew how to be a companion and a lord; neither arrogant in his lordship, nor vulgar in his affability, for in him he had a humility which made him the friend of God, and to the world he showed such authority that he was thought of highly by all men . . . He owned a vast number of books and was devoted to study, specially Moral Philosophy and rare and ancient matters; and always did he have Doctors and Masters in his house with whom he discoursed on the subjects of his reading . . .'

John de Lucena, author of the *Libro de vita beata*, a familiar of Eneas Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II) and a follower of Bartolomeo Fazzio, depicts him in this Dialogue laughing at an expression of the Bishop of Burgos during the discussion on the beatific life. The Bishop is distressed by the Castilian propensity to make fun, to vanquish pedantry by spicy ridicule, although he himself has just been guilty of this offence. 'Oh this Castilian habit, not sufficiently to be reproved!' The Poet answers: *Reymonos que no reymos*— 'we laugh at ourselves, we do not mock you', as the old commentary to the Dialogue has it.

§ 5

His speech almost foreign,
Armed like a Frenchman.

Thus the author of the *Coplas de la Panadera* represents Don Iñigo in the battle of Olmedo. John de Lucena, in the Dialogue already quoted, draws a picture of the Bishop of Burgos, of the poet John de Mena, and the author himself gathering round his hospitable table for a dinner 'served in the French style', and the renewed discussion on beatitude which follows it. His motto *Dios e Vos* is the French *Dius et Vous*. In the tenth and eleventh paragraphs of the letter to the Constable of Portugal he speaks of his French readings. All trace has vanished of the old Chansons, and their place has been taken long ago by that literature of which the 'Maestre Johan Lorris' (Guillaume de Lorris), 'Johan Copinete' (Jean de Meun), and 'Alen Charrotier' (Alain Chartier) are representative. Here 'the art of Love is all enclosed', and this allegorical literature, which the Marquis knew so well, as the *Letter* proves, coloured his life and permeated even his Italianate and revolutionary efforts.

It is well known that the direct influence of Provençal poetry on Don Iñigo was slight, but the conventions of the 'Gay Science' reached him in his youth during their brief and anachronical revival in the new form Don Henry of Villena had given to them in his *Arte de Trobar*. In his library in Guada-

lajara, which in other respects is so representative, there was only one Provençal work, the *Breviari d Amor* by Matfre Ermengaud, and it is very doubtful if its owner ever read it.[1]

While the translations and adaptations from the French were becoming rarer every year (the *Mar de Historias* and the *Arbol de Batallas* are eccentric exceptions), those from the Italian into Castilian were more frequent and doubtless significant. If Dante, as we shall see, preceded all in time, Boccaccio was fortunate in the talented number of his translators and followers, amongst whom must be counted the great Constable Don Alvaro with his *Libro de las virtuosas et claras mujeres*. As Menéndez y Pelayo points out, every one of Boccaccio's more important productions becomes the centre of an ever-increasing influence, of which that of the *Decameron* is the latest to reach maturity (not before the sixteenth century), and that of the sentimental erotic *Fiammetta* the earliest. But all Boccaccio's works were translated, and for nearly a century they remained a source of information and moral wisdom. Thus, as a Stoic moralist rather than as the storyteller of Fiesole Don Iñigo conceived him in the *Comedieta de Ponza*, consoling the Queens of Navarre and Aragon, after the naval disaster that had temporarily checked Aragonese ambition in Italy. This moralizing and scholarly influence he shared with Petrarch, whom Santillana knew well.

'To the French only I prefer, let him who knows better

[1] See Mario Schiff, *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*; Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Paris, 1905, p. 384.

correct me, the Italians, for their works bear the mark of higher genius and they adorn them with rare stories worked into the composition. But I prefer the French to the Italians, because they observe the rules of the Art of Poetry.'

This sentence seems to sum up his attitude as a fervent admirer of Dante's allegorical art, and as the enthusiast who followed in the footsteps of Francisco Imperial 'who alone in these parts of the Occident deserves the name of *Poet*, and the prize of the triumphal laurel wreath'[1]. And yet he never felt quite at home in the luminous world of Petrarch and Boccaccio.

Again, it was Henry de Villena who was directly responsible for introducing the Marquis to the author of the *Divine Comedy*, for which Imperial had awakened his interest. In the year 1428 he received from his royal friend the literal version of the *Divine Comedy*, written on the margin of an Italian manuscript of the year 1354, *a preces de Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza.*[2] This volume of the famous *libreria de Guadalfafara* has survived, and bears traces of the Marquis's use (in the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, but not the *Paradiso*), as he was fond of noting explanations and observations, and of marking in his personal manner passages that specially struck him. In his library was also a copy of Benvenuto da Imola's commentary to the *Purgatory* in the Castilian translation by Martin Gonzalez de

[1] *Prohemio* XVI.

[2] Mario Schiff, pp. 275–303. See also *Première traduction de la Divine Comédie* in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, vol. i, p. 269, Madrid 1899.

Lucena. Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch were to him inexhaustible encyclopaedias. Dante was the completion and fulfilment of the medieval literature he understood and loved. When he attempted to follow the Florentine model, he failed, as he was bound to. The majesty of the language disappears in the rapidity of the Spanish lines; this world of the spirit has become conventional, and the influence becomes increasingly external and ends in the *mise en scène* of the Sevillian school, *escenas selvaticas*, picturesque settings, a certain romantic feeling that envelops these visions, this allegory and mythology.

The hendecasyllabic verse in which he wrote the *Sonetos fechos al italico modo* he owed as much to the *Vita Nuova* as to Petrarch. This feat of putting Italian metre to Castilian uses (with results, it must be conceded, not very pleasing to a rhythmically sensitive ear) has passed down the avenues of history as a daring achievement, and such it appeared in times when the poet's ear, infinitely more sensitive to the natural rhythm of language and the subtle delicacy of assonance (in Spain, at least), felt metrical form and language to be by nature indissolubly united. The 'Divine' Herrera, speaking in his commentary to Garcilaso on the history of such Italian influences, writes that it does not date from the age of Boscan, as some think, 'but it is much older in our language, for the Marquis of Santillana, a great Captain and most valorous knight, essayed it first with remarkable daring, and plunged into that unknown sea, returning home with the spoils of strange treasure. This is proved by his Sonnets'. But even here there is no

question of slavish imitation. In the whole range of the Sonnets there is not one direct reminiscence of Dante or Petrarch.[1]

The great change was taking place, operative in every department of life. A longing was in the air, far removed from the disciplined scholarship of the great Spanish Renaissance scholars like Antonio de Nebrija and Arias Barbosa. Classical antiquity was approached in a new spirit of awe, and this spirit transfigured what had been known for centuries about the Roman world, which began to be understood, from some points of view at least, as dependent on the thought and culture of Greece. In Spain the Renascence was revolutionary in an even higher degree than in France, and this violent and exclusive character explains the difference between the results in these countries and in Italy, where this spirit had gradually entered into the culture of the Middle Ages, had been assimilated, and reached its splendid completion as a necessary fulfilment.

In the letter to the Constable of Portugal,[2] Santillana divides poetry into *Sublime*, *Mediocre*, and *Low*.

[1] See on the subject: A. Vegue Goldoni, *Los sonetos a¡ itálico modo de Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza: estudio crítico y nueva edición de los mismos*, Madrid, 1911; S. Sanvisenti, *I primi influssi di Dante, del Petrarca e del Boccaccio sulla letteratura spagnuola*, Milano, 1902, pp. 127–86; J. Seronde, *Dante and the French influence on the Marquis de Santillana*, Romanic Review, 1916, vol. vii, pp. 194–210, also vol. vi, pp. 60–86—*A Study of the relations of some leading French poets of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the Marquis de Santillana*, the Romanic Review, Lancaster, New York.

[2] See *Prohemio* IX.

'The word "Sublime" might be applied to those who wrote their works in the Greek or Latin language, . . . mediocre poetry is the work of those who wrote in the common tongue . . . The lowest are those who, without order, rule nor measure, compose songs and ballads which are enjoyed by people of low and servile station.'[1] The implications of this passage have, perhaps, not always been rightly appreciated. The Marquis, as we have seen, makes constant use of popular themes; but his poetry is never without 'order, rule, nor measure'. He insists, on the contrary, on the metrical perfection of poetry. 'And, what is poetry (which we in our common speech call the Gay Science) but a fiction of useful things, covered and dressed in beautiful array, composed, separated and scanned by certain number, quantity, and measure?'[2] He has passed into history as the greatest master of metre of the Spanish fifteenth century, who understood better than any other the *pesso e cuento de las sillabas*.

Men, some of them remarkable, were carrying the new knowledge over Europe. The Councils of Constance and of Bâle in 1414 and 1432 had been great meeting-places and had given rise to fruitful contact. Here forgathered Don Diego Gomez de Fuensalida, Bishop of Zamora, the Archdeacon of Briviesca, Don Gonzalo Garcia de Santa Maria, Don Alvaro de Isorna, Bishop of Cuenca, and the great Bishop of

[1] See R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía Juglaresca y Juglares*, Publicaciones de la Revista de Filología Española, pp. 416–17, Madrid, 1924.

[2] *Prohemio* III. See Chandler Rathfon Post, *Mediaeval Spanish Allegory*, Harvard Studies of Comparative Literature, vol. iv, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1915.

Burgos, Don Alonso de Cartagena, a converted Jew about whom the Pope, Eugene IV, said that, if he came to Rome, the Pope would be ashamed to sit on the throne of St. Peter. The Bishop of Burgos defended in Bâle, in a spirited manner, the precedence of the King of Castile and Leon over the King of England. Here he began his personal relations with the future Pope, Eneas Silvius, and he 'had sweet epistolary commerce' with Leonardo Aretino, partly devoted to the new translation of the *Ethics* of Aristotle. Leonardo Aretino's fame penetrated to Castile. He wrote some letters to King John II, and was answered by an envoy who had been instructed to address the great Florentine on his knees.

The Humanists were travelling in Spain[1] ever since Manuele Crisolare had visited the Peninsula in 1410, after his journey to the Courts of France and England. Guiniforte Barzizza, Giovanni Aurispa, Tommaso da Rieti belonged to this company of travelling teachers. The Bishop Don Alonso of Cartagena wrote in 1442 to Pietro Candido Decembri, that he would find in Burgos not only 'honorem debitum', but 'salte amicabile hospicium'. He never availed himself of the offer, but his brother Angelo visited Spain several times, carrying with him, especially in 1464, a real library of originals and transcriptions, and shortly before that time the Peninsula was already so rich in books that Leonoro de' Leonori came to Spain from Bologna to collect them.

[1] See Arturo Farinelli: *Viages por España y Portugal desde la Edad Media hasta el siglo XX*, Centro de Estudios Históricos, Madrid 1921.

Yet Santillana never penetrated deeply into classical learning. There is now little or no doubt that his knowledge of Latin was slight, so slight that he invariably made use of translations, the production of which he encouraged all his life. His quotations[1] from the Latin, and the occasional use of Latin words do not alter fundamentally this opinion, in spite of the arguments of some commentators. His own words decide the question clearly. In a letter to his son Peter, at the time a student at Salamanca, in which he invites him to translate into Castilian the Latin version of the *Iliad* of Pietro Candido Decembri, he says: 'Well do I know now that you will reply, as it has been my lot other times in your case and in others, that all the sweetness and loveliness lies entirely in the Latin words, a fact I cannot appreciate, as I have not learnt that language.' He proceeds to remark that Cato (*creo que uticense*; he thought wrongly, for it was Marcus Portius Cato Censor to whom the story refers) learned Greek after he had reached his eightieth year. It would be difficult for him to follow his example, 'for Cato was a singular and unique specimen of the human race in this and many other matters'. John de Lucena, in his much-quoted *Dialogue*, makes the Marquis lament over his ignorance: 'When I see myself thus deficient in Latin letters, I count myself a human being, but not a man.' Zorita in the Preface to his translation of Bonnet's *Arbre des batailles* tells us that to the Poet the French language was as familiar as Castilian, and that he read books in the Tuscan and Venetian tongue.

[1] Two of these occur in the *Prohemio*.

This trusted servant and friend would not have omitted any knowledge of the Latin, and certainly not of Greek, if there had been any truth in such attribution of scholarship. The Poet's vision of classical antiquity and his imagination fed on medieval fiction dealing with classical subjects, such as the *Chronica de las façanas de los philosophos* and the *Historia de Troya*, in which the reader is advised 'not to read the book Homer wrote', for he did not know what he was writing about. His learned efforts may be compared in style and manner to the products of the 'plateresque' style. The design, the structural elements are Gothic and medieval, the decoration, inspired in the art of the *Platero*, the silversmith's art, follows motives of classical Italian ancestry or, in some cases, inspires itself in *Mudejar* art, the decorative work of latinized Arabs.

The Marquis was a real lover of books, and his library, the largest remains of which are, after many vicissitudes, collected in the National Library of Madrid, is one of the most important of the fifteenth century in Europe, and without exception the most important in Spain. His son, the Duke, made this library an heirloom, and such it remained until it was sold, a little over forty years ago, after the death in his castle of Beauraing in Belgium of Don Mariano Tellez de Giron, twelfth Duke of Osuna, and fifteenth Duke del Infantado.

It was a library in which one side at least of Don Iñigo's personality is expressed, that of the bookish, book-proud nobleman, so naïvely convinced of the importance of his exotic knowledge, to whom the gentle lyrical poet who sings in such strongly national

and popular strains, is strangely and, sometimes, incongruously united. This library was not made up of presentation copies, offered by starving clerks and schoolmasters, but was a massive and solid edifice erected carefully and patiently. His chaplain, Peter de Diaz de Toledo, his secretaries Diego de Burgos and Antonio Zorita, and the Bachelor Alfonso de Zamora collected for him, while Nuño de Guzman and John de Lucena bought beautiful manuscripts in Italy for the library of their master.

§ 6

If this had been all, Santillana could be remembered only as an aristocratic lover of learning. That it was not all, we have already seen when we followed the vicissitudes of his life, so constantly accompanied by lyrical expression. He forgot his dilettante proclivities when it suited his purpose, and in these privileged moments dusty tomes and lovely illuminated scripts are far removed from his mind, and through his poetry there reaches us one of the last living voices of the Middle Ages, fresh and young in an exquisite marriage of popular inspiration with accomplished technique, characteristic of the Peninsula in its economy and effectiveness. His works should be divided into two sections from this point of view. Don Iñigo loved one thing and was proud of it. We love another.

It is true that the epic literature of Castile, the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, the great *Gestas*, the scholastic-clerical poetry of Berceo seem to play no part in the formation of his talent. They are not mentioned in the *Prohemio*, his literary declaration of faith (although

the poem of the *Cid* is referred to in the preface to the *Proverbios*). He does not speak about his contemporary Baena, the Jewish arbiter of literary taste, and compiler of the Royal *Cancionero*, although he loves and reads the works of those, many of them of mediocre interest, which are collected in Baena's anthology. But what he knows of the literature of his country is Spanish of the Spanish: Don Juan Manuel, the Archpriest of Hita, the Rabbi Sem Tob, the Chancellor of Castile, his uncle. Sometimes, as in the *Querella*, his natural elegance reaches us through layers of pedantry. He can be more graceful than his contemporary Prince Charles of Orleans. Yet to taste fully the flavour of his personality and his art, we must turn elsewhere, to the pastoral irony of *La Vaquera de Finojosa*, to the *Decires y Canciones*, to the perfection of the *Serranillas*.

The *Prohemio* published in this volume accompanies the gift of the *Decires e Canciones mias* to the young Constable of Portugal, Don Peter, who deserved the homage of the Castilian poet, for he was the first Portuguese to write in Spanish. Such erotic poetry, being *obras de amores*, suited the youth of the recipient. It was probably in the spring of the year 1449. Don Peter was nearly twenty-one years old, Santillana in his fifty-first year, worrying and plotting just before the meeting of Coruña del Conde, where the lords finally declared against the great favourite Don Alvaro, and commissioned the Poet to speak for them.[1] The contents of the manuscript are short

[1] That this letter was written before the end of the year, is proved by the reference to the Infant Don Peter of Portugal,

poems, charming in their courtly elegance. Yet few are more than chiselled receptacles of supererogatory emotion. Amongst them is one in the Galician language, very probably the last composition written in this tongue, which had been the lyrical dialect of the Peninsula for centuries and had now, as the mistakes and barbarisms of Baena's *Anthology* tend to show, become a convention from which all living freshness had vanished :[1]

> Por amar non sabyamente
> Mays como louco sirvente,
> Hey servido a quen non sente
> Meu cuidado.

Another poem in this collection, perhaps the most delicate and tender amongst the works of the Marquis, was inspired also by memories of those Galician songs, which, as we have seen, he had so often read in his

Duke of Coimbra, father of the young Constable, who died a few months later in the battle of Alfarrobeira, and by the title of Constable with which the Marquis addresses Don Peter and of which the King, Alfonso of Portugal, deprived his cousin in the same year. Amador de los Rios states (note) that amongst the compositions included in the *Decires e Canciones mias*, presented to the Portuguese prince, was the *Dialogo de Bias contra fortuna*, written immediately after the imprisonment of Don Iñigo's kinsman, the Count of Alva. This assumption is contradicted by the quotations of the Marquis from the Epistle to the Corinthians and the lines following it, which make it clear that only youthful works are offered to his young friend.

[1] The problems involved here are alluded to in the notes. It was rather the Provençal element in this Galician poetry, which reached the later poets of Castile, than the sweet melancholy of the *Cantigas de amigo*, which contrast entirely with the narrative realism of the central parts of the Peninsula. The nature of this Provençal influence is as yet imperfectly understood.

grandmother's house 'when he was a little boy'. Sr. Menéndez Pidal[1] points out the antiquity of the theme. Here a fruitful contact is established between the popular *Villancico* and the artistic *Cantares de amigo*, in which the Galician and Portuguese *Cancioneros* abound. The exquisite perfume of this poem contrasts with the impersonal and conventional eroticism of the others. The Marquis hears his daughters singing in a flower-garden, and playfully hides behind a thicket in order to surprise them with his presence. But he hears them sing songs of love, and joins sadly in their sighs, which they do not trouble to hide from their distressed father.

> The love-sick maiden,
> How shall she find rest alone?

It is the eternal lament of Sappho which, more than seventy years after Santillana transplanted the thought and substance from popular poetry into the garden of his highly elaborate and technically perfect art, was translated into Spanish from the Sapphic fragments by a grammarian called Hephaestion:

> Ya sumergiose la luna,
> Ya las Pléyades cayeron,
> Ya es media noche, ya es hora,
> Triste! y yo sola en mi lecho.

A. R. P.

[1] See *Discurso acerca de la primitiva poesía lírica española*, 29 de Noviembre de 1919, Ateneo de Madrid; and P. Henriquez Ureña, *La Versificación irregular en la Poesía Castellana*, Publicaciones de la Revista de Filología Española, Madrid 1920, pp. 73–6.

THE RECIPIENT OF THE *LETTER*

KING JOHN I, 'of good memory', founder of the glorious dynasty of Aviz, and his wife Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt, were parents of the 'inclyta geração, altos Infantes' sung by the national poet of Portugal, Luis de Camões. They had four sons of distinction: King Edward, who reigned from 1433 to 1438; D. Peter, Duke of Coimbra; D. Henry, Duke of Viseu; and D. Ferdinand. The first won abiding fame by his writings, the second by his travels[1] and administration, the third initiated and pursued for forty years the work of discovery and is known to history as Prince Henry the Navigator, the fourth earned the title of the *Constant Prince*, or the *Holy Infant* in captivity in Morocco where he ended his days.

On the death of King Edward, D. Peter was appointed by the Cortes to act as Regent during the minority of King Alfonso V and he discharged his

[1] Described in the booklet *Auto* or *Livro do Infante Dom Pearo de Portugal o qual andou as sete partidas do mundo* by Gomes de Santo Estevam, belonging to the literature *de cordel*; there are many editions in Spanish and Portuguese and one quite recent, but the work contains much fabulous matter.

In the second of her excellent editions of the *Tragedia de la insigne Reina Doña Isabel*, referred to later, D. Carolina Michäelis de Vasconcellos made a careful study of the Infant's travels, pp. 38–48.

task so much to the satisfaction of the people of Lisbon that they wished to erect a statue of him; the nobility, however, led by his bastard half-brother, the Duke of Braganza, and the Count of Ourem, jealous of the authority he enjoyed, conspired to poison the mind of the young King against him, drove him to take up arms in self-defence, and on the 20th May 1449 he fell at the battle of Alfarrobeira with his noble henchman D. Alvaro Vaz de Almada, also a Knight of the Garter.

D. Peter was in his fifty-seventh year; from Pina's account he seems to have been more English than Portuguese, for he was tall and long-faced, slow of gait, grave but gracious of speech, and quick of temper; even his ruddy beard suggested his northern blood. A devout Catholic, as well as a patriot, he said the Canonical Hours daily and during Lent never lay in a bed, but spent the nights on straw. He was chaste also, and, cleaving to his wife, knew no other woman; altogether the man to rear sons and daughters in the fear of God and service of their fellows. Devoted to letters like his brother Edward, he exchanged verses with Juan de Mena and translated Cicero, Seneca, and Vegetius into Portuguese. He married Isabel, daughter of James II, Count of Urgel, and granddaughter of Peter IV, King of Aragon, and their eldest son, also named Peter, is the subject of this monograph.

Born in 1429, the latter is described as 'the fairest and best proportioned creature of his time'; he was precocious too, and when only fourteen felt the grand passion, but it was not with him a passing fancy. In 1443 at his father's request King Alfonso V appointed

him Constable of the realm; this so angered the Count of Ourem, who, as grandson of the Constable D. Nuno Alvares Pereira (hero of the War of Independence against Castile and recently beatified), considered the post was his by right of descent, that he thenceforth worked to secure the downfall of the Regent. In the same year the youth obtained the mastership of the Military Order of Avis. In 1445 he was knighted by his uncle Prince Henry, who came from Lagos to Coimbra for the purpose, and dispatched to Castile with a force of 6,000 men to aid King John II and the Constable D. Alvaro de Luna against the Infants of Aragon, but he arrived too late to take part in the battle of Olmedo. When his father fell into disgrace, he was deprived of his titles, honours, and lands, and passing over into Castile, spent about seven years in exile. In 1456 King Alfonso V recalled him to serve in an expedition to Morocco and gave him back his mastership and estates, but not the post of Constable. In 1463 the Catalans, who had revolted against the King of Aragon, sent to offer him the crown, as chief heir of the House of Urgel. He accepted, proceeded to Barcelona, took the title of King of Aragon and Sicily, and entered on a brave but unequal struggle to maintain his rights. Overcome in the battle of the Prats del Rey on the 18th February 1465, his efforts to secure aid from Portugal and Burgundy failed and he passed away on 29th June 1466, at the early age of thirty-seven, a victim to consumption. His motto, an appropriate one, was *Peine pour joie.*

The Regent had five other children, for whom, as for D. Peter, the world proved a vale of tears. All

save one were short-lived, and three had to take refuge abroad and never returned to Portugal. They were growing up when they saw their father treated as a traitor and every indignity offered to his corpse, while their mother had to hide herself to escape a similar fate. The second son, D. John, married Carlota de Luisignan, but only became King of Antioch and Cyprus to be poisoned for ruling too justly; the third, Cardinal D. James, preferred death at the age of twenty-five to the sacrifice of his chastity, which the doctors considered the only remedy for his illness; he remained true to his motto, *Malo mori quam foedari.* Of the three daughters, D. Brites married Adolphus of Cleves and edified the Burgundian Count by her mortified life; D. Phillipa, a recluse at the Convent of Odivellas, alone attained old age, and she is remembered for her religious writings, while D. Isabel married King Alfonso V and became the avenger of the wrongs of her family by giving birth to King John II who destroyed the power of the Braganzas, authors of the tragedy of Alfarrobeira.

D. Peter occupies an unique place in Portuguese literary history because he inaugurated the fashion of writing in Castilian and adopted the lyrical forms of Castile, including octaves *de arte mayor* and the use of allegory and classical allusions. Previously, as the Marquis de Santillana tells us, the lyric poets of the whole Peninsula preferred the Galician-Portuguese language and received the technical terms of their art from Portugal. D. Peter effected a revolution by which the dominion over poetry passed to Castile and this lasted for nearly a century, as is evident from the

contents of the *Cancioneiro Geral* published in Lisbon in 1516.

He began his first work, *Satira de felice e infelice vida*, in Portugal in 1448 at the age of eighteen, but rewrote and completed it in Castilian during his exile, adding the glosses and dedicatory epistle to his sister Queen Isabel. On his first visit to the Court of King John II in 1445 he had made the acquaintance of the Marquis de Santillana, and early in 1449 he sent to ask for a copy of his verses, which provoked the *Letter* here printed. The years he spent in Castile after the battle of Alfarrobeira served only to increase the admiration he had previously felt for the forms and methods of its poets.

The *Satira* is an allegorical novel of the sentimental kind with some reminiscences of Dante, and the *Siervo libre de amor* of Juan Rodriguez del Padron appears to have been its model. The subject is the author's love for a princess whom it is impossible to identify. He imagines that one July night he found himself alone and sad; Discretion appeared to him, and, reproving his passion, sought to dissuade him from its indulgence by citing examples of the miserable end of lovers in ancient and modern times. Thereupon he took refuge in silence, but was shortly transported to a wooded spot where his sorrow increased on hearing the joyful songs of birds, and after a time he was surrounded by a great company, the college of celestial virtues. Prudence exhorted him to have faith in his lady love, whose praises were sung by the others in hyperbolical strains, but this only added to his grief, because he could not understand how she who was

killing him by her disdain could merit such eulogies. When he condemned her cruelty, Pity defended her and advised him to complain of his own ill fortune. The virtues then left and he remained victor in the argument, which increased his sorrow, for it showed him that his lady was at fault, and he began a new and greater lament, now in verse; he implored the lady's pity and declared that if she would not hear him, he had better die than live unloved. Seizing his naked sword, he hesitated whether to kill himself or await her answer, judgment drawing him one way, his desires another, and finally his heart, 'gridando, accusa la postrimería'.

This work, of which there is only one manuscript copy, dated 1468, suffers from exaggeration of language and a pedantic display of erudition, but some of the prose descriptions of nature are picturesque and show a sense of harmony, while the verse, though marred by conceits, runs smoothly. In fairness to D. Pedro we must remember that he was a Court poet and that he wrote in early youth in a foreign tongue.

The *Satira* was first printed by Paz y Melia in the volume of *Opusculos literarios de los siglos XIV a XVI* published by the *Sociedad de Bibliofilos Españoles*, Madrid 1892, with some of the glosses, including those referring to St. Isabel and Macías, 'great and virtuous martyr of Cupid'.

His next work, attributed to 1455, reflects the misfortunes of his life and the philosophy they had taught him. Usually cited as *Coplas del contempto del mundo*, it consists of 125 octaves in *versos de arte mayor*, and might in the opinion of Amador de los Rios be

entitled *Doctrinal de virtudes*, since D. Peter has there collected the teachings of moralists, adding the fruit of his own experience. The invocation shows his erudite leanings, for, after looking up to God as the source of all lasting good, he invokes the aid of Minerva to enable him to carry through his task. He depicts the instability of fortune as illustrated in the case of the possessors of wealth, honour, and dignities; and though himself a descendant of kings, he declares noble blood to be worthless unless accompanied by virtue, exclaiming generously and truly:

> Todos somos fijos del primero padre,
> todos traemos igual nascimiento,
> todos havemos a Eva por madre,
> todos havemos un acabamiento.
> Todos tenemos bien flaco cimiento,
> todos seremos en breve so tierra,
> el proprio noblesce merecimiento,
> y quien al se piensa, yo pienso que yerra.

He shows the deceit of beauty, popular favour, youth, bodily strength, and friendship, and from a consideration of the miseries of the world lifts his heart and hope to God, the sovereign good, and declares the virtues necessary to salvation. He gives some practical rules of conduct, those relating to speech being admirably summarized in the following octave:

> No solo acata el que es sapiente
> aquello que fabla, mas haun el lugar
> adonde lo fabla, si es congruente,
> e tanbien al tiempo que cumple fablar;
> quien es la persona se deve mirar

con la qual fablamos o de que valor;
estas quatro cosas se deven guardar
y si no se guardan callar es mejor.

Perhaps the pith of the poem is contained in the injunction:

fuyen los gozos blandos, delicados,
venced las planetas, venced vuestros fados,
pero nos inclinen vivir vida fea,
pelead con ellos y sed esforçados,
que el constante forte vence la pelea.

These *Coplas* won contemporary fame for their author, and though such sermons are apt to be tedious, it is impossible not to be moved by a noble ideal of life expressed with conviction by one unjustly persecuted. His references to bad kings, faithless courtiers, and the ungrateful populace, to all of which his father was a victim, strike a personal note and take this work out of the region of the abstract; notwithstanding occasional defects in the versification, it is the best of the many poems written by Portuguese in Castilian in the fifteenth century.

It was probably first printed at Saragossa in 1490, though the copies of the early edition at the National Libraries of Lisbon and Madrid and in the British Museum have neither place nor date of impression. The last with the press mark 1 B 52166, a small 4to, is entitled: 'Coplas fechas por el muy illustre Señor infante dõ Pedro de Portugal, en las quales ay mil versos con sus glosas contenientes del menesprecio e contempto de las cosas fermosas del mundo e demostrando la su vana e feble beldad.'

Garcia de Resende included the *Coplas* in his

Cancioneiro Geral but omitted the glosses and varied the title, attributing the poem to the Regent, which led critics, both Portuguese and Spanish, into error until lately. Menéndez y Pelayo reprinted the *Coplas* in his *Antologia*, vol. ii.

D. Peter's last work, *Tragedia de la insigne Reina Doña Isabel*, was written in exile before 1457, finished in Portugal in 1459, and dedicated to Cardinal D. James.

In form a lament on the misfortunes of his family, in essence it is a treatise of moral philosophy founded on the *De Consolatione* of Boethius and the book of Job, and has nothing dramatic but the name. The eight sets of verses it contains, simple monologues spoken by the author, are complaints provoked and answered by as many prose discourses of his interlocutors, Father Time and two messengers; the narrative portions form part, now of the prose, now of the verse. Occasioned by the death of his sister Queen Isabel, D. Peter there gives full vent to his grief and, driven to frenzy, curses the world and its deceptive splendours; Time appears to console him, teaching the eternal truths as to the nothingness of earthly good and the shortness of life compared to eternity; to distract him from his personal sorrow, it shows the universality of suffering, points out that death is our common heritage and that he who dies early is blessed. At first recalcitrant, the poet defends his tears and pessimism, but finally accepts the counsels of Time, and, resigning himself like a Christian, ends the book in a happier vein.

Here, as in his previous works, there is no origi-

nality of idea, and little of expression, but the reader's sympathy is evoked by its sincerity, and poignancy, the personal note, and an absence of rancour against the enemies who had slain his father, driven him and his brothers and sisters into exile, and deprived them of their titles and estates. Knowledge and study were to D. Peter the nerve of poetry, and he therefore draws largely from mythology and history for his illustrations, but he is less pedantic than before, his eloquence moves us, and some of the verses are vigorous and agreeable to read; as in the *Coplas*, the concept of life is noble, and the *Tragedia* compares favourably with the best coeval works in Castilian.

First published by D. Carolina Michäelis de Vasconcellos in 1899 in the volume *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, vol. i, pp. 637–722, it was reprinted by her at Coimbra in 1922 as a separate work with an appendix containing the will of D. Peter, the catalogue of his library (which included sixty-one Latin manuscripts and thirty-six in other tongues), and the list of his collection of coins. E. P.

Principal Authorities: Ruy de Pina, *Crónica de D. Affonso V*; Geronimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, lib. XVII, cap. 53, to lib. XVIII, cap. 7; Caetano de Sousa, *Historia Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, vol. ii; J. M. Octavio de Toledo in *Revista Occidental*, vol. ii, Lisbon, 1875, an excellent study; J. Coroleu e Inglada, 'El Condestable de Portugal' in *Revista de Gerona*, vol. ii, 1878; A. Balaguer y Merino, *Don Pedro Condestable de Portugal como escritor erudito y antiquario*, Gerona 1881; Amador de los Rios, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, vol. vii; M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antologia de poetas líricos castellanos*, vol. vii.

Comiença el PROHEMIO E CARTA quel marques de Santillana enbio al condestable de Portugal con las obras suyas.

Al illustre señor don Pedro, muy magnifico condestable de Portugal, el marques de Santillana, conde del Real, etc., salud, paz e devida recomendaçion.

[1] En estos dias passados Alvar Gonçales de Alcantara, familiar e servidor de la casa del señor infante don Pedro, muy inclito duque de Coimbra, vuestro padre, de parte vuestra, señor, me rogo que los deçires e cançiones mias enviasse a la vuestra magnifiçençia. En verdad, señor, en otros fechos de mayor importançia, aunque a mi mas trabajosos, quisiera yo complaçer a la vuestra nobleça; porque estas obras, o a lo menos las mas dellas, non son de tales materias, nin asy bien formadas e artiçadas que de memorable registro dignas parescan. Porque, señor, asy como el Apostol diçe: *cum essem parvulus, cogitabam ut parvulus, loquebar ut parvulus.* Ca estas tales cosas alegres e jocosas andan e concurren con el tiempo de la nueva edad de juventud; es a saber, con el vestir, con el justar, con el dançar, e con otros tales cortesanos exerçiçios. E asy, Señor, muchas cosas plaçen agora a vos que ya non plaçen e non deven plaçer a mi. Pero, muy virtuoso Señor, protestando que la voluntad mia sea e fuesse non otra de la que digo, porque la vuestra sin impedimento aya lugar, e vuestro

mandado se faga, de unas e otras partes e por los libros e cançioneros agenos, fiçe buscar e escrevir por orden, segunt que las yo fiçe, las que en este pequeño volumen vos envio.

II. Mas como quiera que de tanta insufiçiençia estas obretas mias que vos, Señor, demandades, sean, o por ventura mas de quanto las yo estimo e reputo, vos quiero çertificar me plaçe mucho que todas cosas que entren o anden so esta regla de poetal canto vos plegan; de lo qual me façen çierto, asy vuestras graçiosas demandas, como algunas gentiles cosas de tales que yo he visto compuestas de la vuestra prudençia; como es çierto este sea un zelo çeleste, una affection divina, un insaçiable çibo del animo; el qual, asy como la materia busca la forma e lo imperfecto la perfecçion, nunca esta sçiencia de poesia e gaya sçiençia buscaron nin se fallaron, sinon en los animos gentiles, claros ingenios e elevados spiritus.

III. ¿E que cosa es la poesia (que en nuestro vulgar *gaya sçiençia* llamamos), syno un fingimiento de cosas utiles, cubiertas o veladas con muy fermosa cobertura, compuestas, distinguidas e scandidas por çierto cuento, peso e medida? E çiertamente, muy virtuoso Señor, yerran aquellos que pensar quieren o deçir que solamente las tales cosas consistan e tiendan a cosas vanas e lasçivas; que bien como los fructiferos huertos abundan e dan convenientes fructos para todos los tiempos del año, asy los hombres bien nasçidos e doctos, a quien estas sçiençias de arriba son infusas, usan d'aquellas e del tal exerçiçio, segund las edades. E sy por ventura las sçiençias son desseables, asy como Tullio quiere, ¿qual de todas es mas prestante, mas

noble, e mas dina del hombre? o qual mas extensa a todas espeçies de humanidad? Ca las escuridades e çerramientos dellas ¿ quien las abre, quien las esclaresçe, quien las demuestra e façe patentes syno la eloqüençia dulçe e fermosa fabla, sea metro, sea prosa?

[IV] Quanta mas sea la exçellençia e prerrogativa de los rimos e metros que de la soluta prosa, syno solamente a aquellos que de las porfias injustas se cuydan adquirir soberbios honores, manifiesta cosa es. E asy façiendo la via de los stoycos, los quales con grand diligençia inquirieron el origine e causas de las cosas, me esfuerço a dezir el metro ser antes en tiempo e de mayor perfecçion e de mas autoridat que la soluta prosa. Isidoro Cartagines, sancto arçobispo Ispalensi, asy lo aprueba e testifica; e quiere que el primero que fiço rimos o canto en metro aya seydo Moysen, ca en metro canto e prophetizo la venida del Mexias, e despues del, Josue, en loor del vençimiento de Gabaon. David canto en metro la vitoria de los Philisteos e la restituyçion del archa del Testamento, e todos los çinco libros del Psalterio. E aun por tanto los hebraycos osan afirmar que nosotros non asy bien como ellos podemos sentir el gusto de la su dulçeza. E Salomon metrificados fizo los sus *Proverbios*, e çiertas cosas de Job son escriptas en rimo, en espeçial las palabras de conorte que sus amigos le respondian á sus vexaçiones.

[V] De los griegos quieren sean los primeros Achatesio Millesio, e apres del, Pherecides Siro e Homero, non obstante que Dante soberano poeta lo llama. De los latinos, Enio fue el primero, ya sea que Virgilio quieran que de la lengua latina en metro aya tenido e

tenga la monarchia ; e aun asy plaze a Dante alli donde dize, en nombre de Sordello Mantuano,

O gloria del latin solo per chui
Mostro cho que potea la lingua nostra !
O preçio eterno del locho ove io fui !

E asy concluyo ca esta sçiençia poetal es açepta principalmente a Dios, e despues a todo linage e espeçie de gentes. Afirmalo Cassiodoro en el libro de *Varias causas*, diziendo: 'Todo resplandor de eloqüençia e todo modo o manera de poesia o poetal locuçion e fabla, toda variedat de honesto fablar hovo e hovieron començamiento de las divinas Escripturas. Esta en los deificos templos se canta, e en las cortes e palaçios imperiales e reales graçiosamente es resçebida. Las plaças, las lonjas, las fiestas, los convites opulentos sin ella asy como sordos e en silençio se fallan.

[VI] ¿ E que son o quales aquellas cosas a donde, oso deçir, esta arte asy como nesçesaria non intervenga e no sirva? En metro las epithalamias que son cantares, que en loor de los novios en las bodas se cantan son compuestos ; e de unos en otros grados aun a los pastores en çierta manera sirven, e son aquellos dictados, a que los poetas bucolicos llamaron. En otros tiempos, a las çenizas e defunçiones de los muertos, metros elegiacos se cantavan, e aun agora en algunas partes dura, los quales son llamados endechas. En esta forma Jeremias canto la destruyçion de Hierusalem ; Gayo Çesar, Octaviano Augusto, Tiberio e Tito, Emperadores, maravillosamente metrificaron, e les plugo toda manera de metro.

[VII] Mas dexemos ya las estorias antiguas, por allegarnos mas açerca de los nuestros tiempos. El rey Roberto de Napol, claro e virtuoso prinçipe, tanto esta sçiençia le plugo, que como en esta mesma sazon miçer Francisco Petrarca, poeta laureado, floresciesse, es cierto grand tiempo lo tuvo consigo en el Castil Novo de Napol, con quien el muy a menudo conferia e platicava destas artes; en tal manera que mucho fue avido por açepto a el e grand privado suyo; e alli se dize aver el fecho muchas de sus obras, asy latinas como vulgares; e entre las otras el libro de *Rerum memorandarum*, e las sus eglogas, e muchos sonetos, en espeçial aquel que fizo á la muerte deste mesmo rey, que comiença:

Rota e l'alta columpna e el verde lauro, etc.

[VIII] Johan Bocaçio, poeta exçellente e orador insigne, afirma el rey Johan de Chipre averse dado mas a los estudios desta graçiosa sçiençia que a ningunas otras; e asy paresçe que lo muestra en la entrada prohemial del su libro de la *Genealogia ó linage de los Dioses Gentiles*, fablando con el Señor de Parma, mensajero o embaxador suyo.

[IX] Como, pues, o por qual manera, Señor muy virtuoso, estas sçiençias ayan primeramente venido en manos de los romançistas o vulgares, creo seria dificil inquisiçion e una trabajosa pesquisa. Pero dexadas agora las regiones, tierras e comarcas mas longincas e mas separadas de nos, non es de dubdar, que universalmente en todas de siempre estas sçiençias se ayan acostumbrado e acostumbran, e aun en muchas dellas en estos tres grados, es a saber: sublime, mediocre, infimo. Sublime se podria dezir por aquellos que las

sus obras escrivieron en lengua griega o latina, digo metrificando. Mediocre usaron aquellos que en vulgar escrivieron, asy como Guido Janunçello, boloñes, e Arnaldo Daniel, proençal. E como quier que destos yo non he visto obra alguna; pero quieren algunos aver ellos sido los primeros que escrivieron terçio rimo e aun sonetos en romançe. E asy como dize el philosopho, de los primeros, primera es la especulaçion. Infimos son aquellos que sin ningun orden, regla, nin cuento fazen estos romançes e cantares de que las gentes de baxa e servil condiçion se alegran. Despues de Guido e Arnaldo Daniel, Dante escrivio en terçio rimo elegantemente las sus tres comedias: *Infierno*, *Purgatorio*, *Parayso*; Miçer Françisco Petrarca sus *Triunphos*; Checo Dascoli el libro *De proprietatibus rerum*; Johan Bocaçio el libro que *Ninfal* se intitula, aunque ayunto a el prosas de grande eloquençia, a la manera del *Boeçio consolatorio*. Estos e muchos otros escrivieron en otra forma de metros en lengua italica que sonetos e canciones morales se llaman.

[X] Estendieronse, creo, d'aquellas tierras e comarcas de los lemosines estas artes a los gallicos e a esta postrimera e occidental parte, que es la nuestra España, donde assaz prudente e fermosamente se han usado. Los gallicos e françeses escrivieron en diversas maneras rimos e versos, que en el cuento de los pies e bordones discrepan; pero el peso e cuento de las sillabas del terçio rimo, e de los sonetos e de las canciones morales, eguales son de las baladas, aunque en algunas, asy de las unas como de las otras, hay algunos pies truncados que nosotros llamamos medios pies, e los lemosis, françeses e aun catalanes, bioques.

[XI] De entre estos ovo hombres muy doctos e señalados en estas artes; ca Maestre Johan Lorris fizo el *Roman de la Rosa,* donde, como ellos dizen, el arte de amor es tota enclosa, e acabolo Maestre Johan Copinete, natural de la villa de Mun. Michaute escrivio asy mismo un grand libro de baladas, canciones, rondeles, lays, virolays, e asono muchos dellos. Miçer Otho de Grandson, cavallero estrenuo e muy virtuoso, se ovo alta e dulçemente en esta arte. Maestre Alen Charrotier, muy claro poeta moderno, e secretario deste rey don Luis de Françia, en grand elegançia compuso é cantó en metro, é escrivió el *Debate de las quatro damas*; la *Bella dama Sanmersi*; el *Revelle matin*; la *Grand pastora*; el *Breviario de nobles*, e el *Hospital de amores*; por çierto cosas assaz fermosas e plaçientes de oyr.

[XII] Los italicos prefiero yo, so emienda de quien mas sabra, a los françeses solamente ca las sus obras se muestran de mas altos ingenios, e adornanlas e componenlas de fermosas e peregrinas estorias; e a los françeses de los italicos en el guardar del arte; de a lo qual los itálicos, syno solamente en el peso e consonar, non se fazen mençion alguna. Ponen sones asy mesmo a las sus obras, e cantanlas por dulçes e diversas maneras; e tanto han familiar, açepta e por manos la musica, que paresçe que entre ellos ayan nasçido aquellos grandes philosophos, Orpheo, Pitagoras e Empedocles, los quales, asy como algunos descriven, non solamente las yras de los hombres, mas aun a las furias infernales con las sonoras melodias e dulçes modulaçiones de los sus cantos aplacavan. ¿E quién dubda que asy como

las verdes fojas en el tiempo de la primavera guarnesçen e acompañan los desnudos arboles, las dulçes voçes e fermosos sones no apuesten e acompañen todo rimo, todo metro, todo verso, sea de qualquier arte, peso e medida?

[XIII] Los catalanes, valençianos, e aun algunos del reyno de Aragon fueron e son grandes offiçiales desta arte. Escrivieron primeramente en novas rimadas, que son piés ó bordones largos de síllabas, é algunos consonavan é otros non. Despues desto usaron el dezir en coplas de diez sillabas a la manera de los lemosis. Ovo entre ellos de señalados hombres, asy en las invençiones como en el metrificar. Guillen de Bergueda, generoso e noble cavallero, e Pao de Benbibre adquirieron entre estos grand fama. Mosen Pero March el viejo, valiente e honorable cavallero, fizo assaz gentiles cosas, e entre las otras escrivio proverbios de grand moralidad. En estos nuestros tiempos floresçio Mosen Jorde de Sanct Jorde, cavallero prudente, el qual çiertamente compuso assaz fermosas cosas, las quales él mesmo asonava, ca fue musico exçellente, e fizo, entre otras, una cançion de oppositos que comiença:

Tos ions aprench e desaprench ensems.

Fizo la *Passion de amor*, en la qual copilo muchas buenas cançiones antiguas, asy destos que ya dixe, como de otros. Mosen Febrer fizo obras notables, e algunos afirman aya traydo el Dante de lengua florentina en catalan, non menguando punto en la orden del metrificar e consonar. Mosen Ausias March, el qual aun vive, es grand trobador, e hombre de assaz elevado spiritu.

[XIV] Entre nosotros usóse primeramente el metro en assaz formas; asy como el *Libro de Alexandre*, *Los votos del Pavon*, e aun el *Libro del Arçipreste de Hita*. Aun desta guisa escrivio Pero Lopez de Ayala, el viejo, un libro que fizo de las maneras del Palacio, e llamaronlo *Rimos*; e despues fallaron esta arte que mayor se llama e el arte comun, creo, en los reynos de Galiçia e Portugal, donde non es de dubdar que el exerçiçio destas sçiençias mas que en ningunas otras regiones e provinçias de España se acostumbro, en tanto grado, que non ha mucho tiempo qualesquier dezidores e trovadores destas partes, agora fuessen castellanos, andaluçes o de la Estremadura, todas sus obras componian en lengua gallega o portuguesa. É aun destos es çierto resçebimos los nombres del arte, asy como maestria mayor e menor, encadenados, lexapren e mansobre.

[XV] Acuerdome, Señor muy magnífico, seyendo yo en edad non provecta, mas assaz pequeño moço en poder de mi abuela doña Mençia de Çisneros, entre otros libros aver visto un grand volumen de cantigas, serranas, e dezires portugueses e gallegos, de los quales la mayor parte eran del rey don Dionis de Portugal (creo, Señor, fue vuestro bisabuelo), cuyas obras aquellos que los leian, loavan de invençiones sotiles, e de graçiosas e dulçes palabras. Avia otras de Johan Soarez de Paiva, el qual se dize aver muerto en Galiçia por amores de una infanta de Portugal, e de otro Fernand Gonçales de Senabria. Despues destos vinieron Vasco Peres de Camoes e Fernand Casquiçio, e aquel grand enamorado Maçias, del qual no se fallan sinon quatro canciones, pero çiertamente

amorosas e de muy fermosas sentençias, conviene a saber:

I. Cativo de miña tristura;
II. Amor cruel e brioso;
III. Señora, en quien fiança;
IV. Provey de buscar mesura.

[XVI] En este reyno de Castilla dixo bien el rey don Alfonso el Sabio, e yo vi quien vio dezires suyos, e aun se dize que metrificava altamente en lengua latina. Vinieron despues destos don Johan de la Çerda e Pero Gonçalez de Mendoça, mi abuelo: fizo buenas canciones e entre otras:

Pero te sirvo sin arte,

e otra a las monjas de la Çaydia, quando el rey don Pedro tenia el sitio contra Valençia; comiença:

A las riberas de un rio.

Uso una manera de deçir cantares, asi como scenicos plautinos e terençianos, tambien en estrambotes como en serranas. Concurrio en estos tiempos un judio que se llamo Rabi Santo: escrivio muy buenas cosas, e entre las otras, *Proverbios morales*, en verdat de assaz commendables sentençias. Puselo en cuento de tan nobles gentes por grand trovador, que asy como el dize en uno de sus *Proverbios*:

Non vale el açor menos
Por nasçer en vil nio,
Nin los exemplos buenos
Por los dezir judio.

Alfonso Gonçalez de Castro, natural desta villa de Guadalaiara, dixo assaz bien é fizo esta cançiones:

I. Con tan alto poderio,
II. Vedes que descortesia.

[XVII] Despues destos, en tiempo del rey don Johan, fue el Arçediano de Toro: este fizo:

Crueldad e trocamento,

e otra cançion que dize:

De quien cuydo e cuyde;

e otra que dize:

A Deus, amor, a Deus, el rey.

E Garçi Fernandez de Gerena. Desde el tiempo del rey don Enrique, de gloriosa memoria, padre del rey, nuestro señor, e fasta estos nuestros tiempos, se començo a elevar mas esta sçiençia e con mayor elegançia, e ha avido hombres muy doctos en esta arte, e prinçipalmente Alfonso Alvarez de Ilyescas, grand dezidor, del qual se podria dezir aquello que en loor de Ovidio un grand estoriador describe, conviene a saber que todos sus motes e palabras eran metro. Fizo tantas cançiones e deçires, que seria bien largo e difuso nuestro proçesso, si por extenso, aun solamente los prinçipios dellas, a recontar se oviessen. E asy por esto, como por ser tanto conosçidas e esparzidas a todas partes las sus obras, passaremos a Miçer Françisco Imperial, al qual yo non llamaria dezidor o trobador, mas poeta; como sea çierto que si alguno

en estas partes del Occaso meresçio premio de aquella triunphal e laurea guirlanda, loando a todos los otros, este fue. Fizo al nasçimiento del rey, nuestro señor, aquel dezir famoso:

En dos seteçientos.

e muy muchas otras cosas graçiosas e loables.

[XVIII] Fernand Sanches Talavera, comendador de la orden de Calatrava, compuso assaz buenos dezires. Don Pero Velez de Guevara, mi tio, graçioso e noble cavallero, asy mesmo escrivio gentiles deçires e canciones.

Fernand Perez de Guzman, mi tio, cavallero docto en toda buena doctrina, ha compuesto muchas cosas metrificadas, y entre las otras aquel epitafio de la sepoltura de mi señor el Almirante, don Diego Furtado, que comiença:

Honbre que vienes aqui de presente.

Fizo muchos otros deçires e cantigas de amores, e agora bien poco tiempo ha escrivio proverbios de grandes sentençias, e otra obra assaz util e bien compuesta de las *Quatro Virtudes Cardinales*.

[XIX] Al muy magnifico duque don Fadrique, mi señor e mi hermano, plugo mucho esta sçiencia, e fizo assaz gentiles canciones e dezires, e tenia en su casa grandes trobadores, espeçialmentea Fernand Rodriguez Portocarrero, e Johan de Gayoso e Alfonso de Moraña. Ferrand Manuel de Lando, honorable cavallero, escrivio muchas buenas cosas de poesia; imito mas que ninguno otro a Miçer Françisco Imperial: fizo de buenas canciones en loor de Nuestra Señora; fizo asy

mismo algunas invectivas contra Alfonso Alvarez, de diversas materias e bien ordenadas.

[XX] Los que despues dellos en estos nuestros tiempos han escripto, o escriven, cesso de los nombrar, porque de todos me tengo por dicho que vos, muy noble señor, ayades notiçia e conosçimiento; e non vos maravilledes, Señor, si en este prohemio aya tan extensa e largamente enarrado estos tanto antiguos e despues nuestros auctores, e algunos dezires e canciones dellos, como paresca aver proçedido de una manera de oçiosidat, lo qual de todo punto deniegan non menos ya la edad mia, que la turbaçion de los tiempos. Pero es asy que como en la nueva edad me pluguiessen, fallelos agora, quando me paresçio ser nesçessarios. Ca asy como Oraçio, poeta, dize:

Quem nova concepit olla servabit odorem.

[XXI] Pero de todos estos, muy magnifico Señor, asy italicos como proençales, lemosis, catalanes, castellanos, portugueses e gallegos, e aun de qualesquier otras nasçiones se adelantaron e antepusieron los gallicos çesalpinos e de la provinçia de Equitania en solepnizar e dar honor a estas artes. La forma e manera como, dexo agora de recontar, por quanto ya en el prologo de los mis *Proverbios* se ha mençionado. Por las quales cosas, e aun por otras muchas, que por mi, e mas por quien mas sopiesse, se podrian ampliar e dezir, podra sentir e conosçer la vuestra magnifiçençia en quanta reputaçion, estima e comendacion estas sciençias averse deven, e quanto vos, Señor muy virtuoso, devedes estimar que aquellas dueñas que en torno de la fuente de Elicon inçessantemente dançan,

en tan nueva edad non inmeritamente a la su compañia vos ayan resçebido. Por tanto, Señor, quanto yo puedo, exhorto e amonesto a la vuestra magnifiçençia que, asy en la inquisiçion de los fermosos poemas, como en la polida orden e regla d'aquellos, en tanto que Cloto filare la estambre, vuestro muy elevado sentido e pluma non çessen, por tal que quando Atropos cortare la tela, non menos delphicos que marçiales honores e glorias obtengades.

NOTES

PAGE 69, ll. 7–8. *los deçires e canciones mias.* See pp. 56–8.

l. 15. *cum essem parvulus . . .* 'Cum essem parvulus, loquebar ut parvulus, sapiebam ut parvulus, cogitabam ut parvulus. Quando autem factus sum vir, evacuavi quae erant parvuli', *Epist. I ad Corinth.* xiii. 11. Concerning Don Iñigo's knowledge of Latin, see pp. 53–4.

agora. See pp. 56–7.

PAGE 70, ll. 31–2. *asy como Tullio quiere.* The marquis read Cicero in the following editions: in Italian *De Officiis, De Amicitia, De Paradoxis, De Senectute,* National Library, Madrid, Reserv. 5a22; arms of Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, fine initial with portrait inscribed: *Marco Tullio Cicerone.* The book was translated: *nella magnifica città di Firenze, di latino in lingua toscana, ad petitione del magnifico et generoso caualiere messire Nicholops* [*Iñigo Lopez*] *de Mendoza marchese di Sanctigliana.*

This is the only MS. which was *undoubtedly* read by Don Iñigo. In the library in Guadalajara there were five other MSS., certainly previous to the year 1458, in which the owner died: *Orationes* in Latin, *De Oratore* in Latin, *Tusculanæ* in Italian, edited by Fausto da Longiano and translated 'ad instanza d'un gentil'huomo Spagnuolo, detto il S. Nugno Gusmano [Nuño de Guzman]', and another version in Aragonese of *De Officiis* and *De Amicitia.* Schiff, *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane;* Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études, Paris, 1905.

PAGE 71, l. 10. *los stoycos.* One MS. of the younger Seneca has reached us which was certainly used by Don Iñigo. It contains the *Epistles* and *De Providentia Dei,* both in Italian. A magnificent capital represents Seneca writing the opening words of the letter to Lucilius, beginning *Ita fac mi Lucili.* The arms of the Marquis were painted on to the original decorations after considerable erasion of the primitive design. This ancient 'volgarizzamento' was certainly over a century old before it found its

way to Guadalajara. The Letters are probably translated from a French version. See Schiff, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–11. There were other MSS. in the library which do not bear marks of study. They are written in Latin, Italian, and Spanish; the Tragedies in Italian only.

l. 14. *Isidoro Cartagines, sancto arçobispo Ispalensi*: Saint Isidore of Seville (570?–636), 'beatus et lumen noster Isidorus', famous for his encyclopaedic knowledge and, together with Boethius, one of the master-teachers of the Occident. The passage is to be found in the *Etymologies*, lib. I, cap. xxxviii: 'Hoc primum Moses in cantico Deuteronomii, longe ante Pherecidem et Homerum cecinisse probatur. Unde et apparet antiquius fuisse apud Hebraeos studium carminum quam apud gentiles.' The *Etymologies* were much studied by Santillana, and their disappearance from his library must be attributed to the fire which in the year 1702 burnt down part of the castle of Guadalajara.

l. 17. In the *Book of Deuteronomy*, cap. xviii, Moses announces the coming of a great prophet who has been identified with the Messiah.

l. 18. The Gibeonites were not defeated, but came to terms with the Israelites to avoid being attacked. *Vide* the *Book of Joshua*, cap. ix.

l. 19. *Vide* Psalm lxvii, 'Exurgat Dominus'.

l. 21. A Hebrew tradition divided the Psalter into five books: it thus formed a counterpart to the five Books of the Law given to the Israelites by Moses, and was another Pentateuch.

l. 25. Three friends of Job, hearing of the evil that had befallen him, came to mourn and comfort him. At first, seeing how great was his grief, they sat with him for seven days and nights without speaking a word, but afterwards they reasoned with him, with the result that he complained of their cruelty. Finally Elihu appeared and justified God's ways in dealing with him. The reference is to the *Book of Job*.

l. 26. *conorte*: from late Latin *confortare*, also *conhorte* and *confuerto*:

luz era e confuerto de la su vecindat.

(Berceo, *Vida de Santa Oria*, cop. 22.)

And *conuerto*: see Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática Histórica*, Madrid 1918, § 83. 5.

ll. 28–9. *Achatesio Millesio*: Hecateos of Miletos.

The Marquis had no knowledge of this author except through the channel of St. Isidore (*Origins*, lib. I, cap. xxxviii) who describes him as the first of the Greek poets: *Hoc apud Graecos Achatesius Milesius fertur primus composuisse: vel ut alii putant Pherecides Syrus.*

In truth the son of Hegesandros, born about 540 B. C., was not a poet, but a politician, rationalist, theologian, geographer, and traveller (see Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.*, i. 1 ff.). He strongly advised his Ionic compatriots not to resist the power of the Persian Great King. When the barbarians were victorious, he urged the occupation of the island of Leros in order to better organize resistance (Herodotus, v. 125), and, as his counsel was not accepted, he intervened with the Persian Satrap in order that clemency might be shown to his beaten countrymen (Diodore of Sicily, x. 25. 2). His two works, the *Genealogies* and the *Description of the Earth*, show him as a theologian and a geographer. His critical attitude to traditional mythology is proved by a Fragment in Müller (332): Hecateos of Miletus speaks thus: 'I write these things as they seem to me true; for the opinions of the Greeks are various and to my mind ridiculous.' His works exercised a profound and constant influence on Herodotus. The *Description of the Earth* contained the second geographical map produced by a Greek, the first being that of Anaximander. His reputation was immense, and Heracleitos, the profoundest of all thinkers before Plato, quotes him together with Hesiod, Pythagoras and Xenophanes amongst the greatest.

Pherecides of Syros lived in the first half of the sixth century B. C., and was the author of the *Theogony* and a mysterious book of which Diogenes Laertius has preserved to us the obscure title. It was called Ἑπτάμυχος, something like the *Cavern of Seven Folds*, and the fragments surviving are probably the oldest examples of Greek prose. Pherecides was a mystic and an initiate in the Orphic mysteries.

l. 29. *Homero.* Santillana knew Books I, II, III, IV, and X of the *Iliad*, translated by his son, Don Peter Gonzalez de Mendoza, later Great Cardinal of Spain, while he was a student in Salamanca, from the Latin of Peter Candido Decembri together with the life of Homer by the same author, who had dedicated his work to King John II of Castile, acting on a suggestion of the learned

Bishop of Burgos, Alonso de Cartagena. The MS. is in the British Museum quoted by Gayangos under Add. 21245 paper, in folio, ff. 97, fifteenth century. See Schiff, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–7.

l. 30. *Dante*: Quegli è Omero, poeta sovrano.
Divina Commedia, *Inf.* iv. 88

Cf. Schiff, *op. cit.*, pp. 271–319. There were six Dantes in the Osuna Library (A, B, C, D, E, F) of which one (D) was certainly used by Santillana. It contains the *Divina Commedia* with a marginal translation into Castilian, and a number of emendations and moral reflections suggested by the subject, written in the hand of Don Iñigo and marked with a special sign he employs to draw attention to passages which interested him. These signs are absent in the larger part of the *Paradiso*, which he does not seem to have studied with the same care. The Italian text is old, as, in the opinion of Rajna and Parodi, it was written in the year 1354 by a Genoese scribe. This circumstance acquires special significance if we accept the very plausible suggestion that this MS. is the original of Don Henry de Villena's version of the *Commedia*, which Amador de los Rios, Menéndez y Pelayo and Cotarelo considered lost. It is well known how the young, and not yet Italianate, Santillana requested his noble friend, who enjoyed himself prodigiously during the coronation of his royal cousin in Zaragoza and in the literary atmosphere of Barcelona, to supply him with a translation; and what more natural, considering the political situation and geographical proximity, than that the oldest version of Dante into the Spanish language should be based on a Genoese MS. See pp. 48–9.

l. 31. *Quintus Ennius* (239–170 B.C.), Latin poet, gained a reputation as the Homer of his country by the *Annales*, a narrative poem in eighteen books containing the story of the nation from mythical times to his own. Only some 600 lines survive.

Henry de Villena translated the *Aeneid* at the request of Santillana about the year 1417. Juan de Villena, a servant of the Marquis, transcribed his version in 1436, and the manuscript is in the Paris National Library: *vide* A. Morel-Fatio's *Catalogue*, p. 237.

PAGE **72**, l. 2. *Sordello of Mantua* was a famous Provençal troubadour who flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century. Dante immortalized him: vide *Pur-*

gatorio, vi. 74, vii. 3, viii. 38, ix. 58. The quotation in the text is not quite accurate; it should read:

O gloria de' Latin, disse, per cui
Mostrò ciò che potea la lingua nostra,
O pregio eterno del loco ond' io fui.

l. 8. *Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus* (490?–585?) won in early life a reputation for rare wisdom and eloquence, and became the chosen counsellor of King Theodoric, who loaded him with benefits. In 514 he was Consul. His influence endured under King Athalaric but in 537 he retired to a monastery he had founded on his estates in Calabria, and there devoted the rest of a long life to letters. To preserve the monuments of ancient learning he collected old MSS. and had them copied by his monks. His most important work, the *Variae* in twelve books, contains decrees of Theodoric and edicts issued by its author. It was re-edited by Mommsen, Berlin 1894. We did not find the passage cited by Santillana. His other writings, grammatical, historical, and scriptural, have been often printed; the best editions are those of Rouen 1679 and Venice 1729.

l. 28. The *Lamentations of Jeremiah* consist of five elegies, and are one of the products of a great lyrical movement among the Jews at home and in exile in Babylon.

l. 29. According to Suetonius, in his *Lives of the twelve Caesars*, Octavian wrote a treatise in hexameter verse of which the subject and title is Sicily. Camões in *The Lusiads*, canto v, stanza 95, says of him:

Octavio entre os maiores oppressões
Compunha versos doutos e venustos.

Tiberius composed a lyric poem lamenting the death of Lucius Caesar, and Greek verse in imitation of Euphorion and others.

Titus was a ready extempore poet in Greek and Latin.

PAGE 73, l. 5. *Petrarca* (1304–1374) received an invitation from King Robert of Naples in September 1340 and journeyed there in February 1341. He was honourably entertained and after submitting to a public examination by the King in the art of poetry, was sent to Rome where in April he obtained the laurel crown in the Capitol from the hand of the Roman Senator. It does not appear likely that he composed in Naples his historical miscel-

lany *Rerum Memorandarum*, while the sonnet mentioned by Santillana ('Rota e l'alta Colonna et verde Lauro'), refers, not to the death of the King, but to that of Cardinal Colonna and of Laura in April 1348.

Santillana possessed the following works of Petrarca: *Sonetti e Canzoni in morte di Madonna Laura*, *De viris illustribus*, *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, and *De vitâ solitariâ*.

l. 16. *Boccaccio* (1313–1375) composed the learned treatise *De Genealogiâ Deorum* at the request of Ugo, King of Jerusalem and Cyprus, conveyed by his ambassador Donnino of Parma, as appears from the preface. Santillana had a Castilian version of this work in his library, made by his chaplain Peter Diaz de Toledo.

PAGE 74, l. 3. *Guido Guinicelli*, referred to by Dante in *De Vulgari Eloquio*, belonged to the well-known family Dei Principi of Bologna. In 1274 he and his relations had to go into exile on account of their having been adherents of the Emperor Frederick II, and he is thought to have died young in 1276. Signor Ernesto Grillo calls him 'the best exponent of the Bolognese poetry, for in imagination and art he surpasses all his predecessors' (*Early Italian Literature*, vol. i, p. 276, London 1920). Santillana can have known him only at second hand.

l. 4. Dante set *Arnaut Daniel* above all other erotic poets of his time and considered him a master of style; moreover both he and Petrarca imitated the troubadour. There is a critical edition of his *Poésies*, with French translation and notes by R. Lavaud, in *Annales du Midi*, vol. xxii, and separately, Toulouse 1910. Santillana only knew Daniel through Dante.

l. 15. The real name of *Cecco d'Ascoli* was Francesco degli Stabili (1257–1327). Poet, astrologer, and physician, he was burnt at Florence on the charge of heresy. The *Nimphale*, a poem in *ottava rima*, existed in Santillana's library. The first edition in the British Museum is dated 1477. *Boeçio consolatorio* is the well-known work of Boethius, *de Consolatione Philosophiae*, last edited by Dr. Adrian Fortescue.

PAGE 75, l. 2. *Johan Lorris* = Guillaume de Lorris (about 1237).

l. 3. There were three MSS. of the *Roman de la Rose* in the Osuna Library, now kept in the National

Library, Madrid. Two of them contain superb miniatures. The words *El arte de amor es toda enclosa* are a transcription of the rubric under two of the most beautiful of these illuminations: *Cy commence le Rommant de la Rose ou l'art d'amours est toute enclose.* On the last page of the second copy a note is to be seen :— *Detur pro pena scriptori pulcra puella.* No evidence is extant if the wish of *Messire Alain de la Houssaye, cheualier,* to whom the copy belonged before it reached Guadalajara, has been fulfilled.

ll. 4–5. *Maestre Johan Copinete* = Jean Clopinel from Meun-sur-Loire.

l. 5. *Michaute* = Guillaume de Machaut (born between 1290 and 1295 and lived until 1377).

l. 8. *Otho de Grandson,* a contemporary of Alain Chartier. *Alen Charrotier,* born about 1394, died after 1439. It is a mistake of the Marquis that Chartier was a secretary of *este rey Don Luis de Francia,* He served Charles VI and Charles VII, and was charged with a mission to the Emperor Sigismund in Bohemia in 1423 and 1424. The books quoted are : *Le livre des quatre dames ; La belle dame sans merci ; Le réveil-matin ; Le Bréviaire des nobles ; L'Hospital d'amour.* In the Osuna Library there is a MS., probably used by Don Iñigo, which contains : *Le Débat de réveille-matin ; La belle dame sans merci ; Le débat des deux fortunes d'amour ; Lettres envoyées par les dames á Alain* ; *Requête baillée aux dames contre Alain* ; *L'excusation d'Alain aux Dames* ; all these in French. There is a Spanish translation of the *Quadrilogue invectif* (*El Quadrilogo invectivo de Alaym Carretero*) which may have been made for the use of Santillana. There is no trace of the *Grand pastora.*

PAGE 76. The direct influence of Provençal literature on the Marquis is much slighter than this passage would lead us to think. There was only one Provençal MS. in his library, the Breviari of Matfre Ermengaud which is now lost. See pp. 46–7.

ll. 13–14. *Guillen de Bergueda, generoso é noble cavallero,* was in truth neither. Guillem de Bergadán was one of the Spanish troubadours who wrote in Provençal. At the court of the Viscount of Bergadán there were several Spanish Juglares (see R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía Juglaresca y Juglares,* Centro de Estudios Históricos, Madrid 1924). He was the turbulent son and heir of the Viscount

William of Bergadán, born some time between 1130 and 1150, probably in Castell Bergadá, near Berga. During his childhood therefore the anonymous poet in the neighbourhood of Medina del Campo was composing the *Cantar de mio Cid*, the greatest relic of Castilian epic poetry. He lived through the reigns of Alfonso II of Aragon and Alfonso VIII of Castile and Leon. In 1174 he murdered Ramon Folc of Cardona, and his subsequent career is a succession of treason and deeds of violence. After a short-lived repentance in 1187, during which he became a member of the Order of the Temple, his adventures continued. At one moment he threatened jokingly to 'serve the king who holds Bordeaux', the King of England, but was prevented by the fair one he loved from doing so. Finally, he had his throat cut by a foot-soldier, a disreputable end for a knight. He certainly had visited Leon in Castile, and knew the King, Alfonso VIII. Alfonso II of Aragon imprisoned him in 1181, and the distressed viscount implores the good will of the King in a poem sung by one of his Juglares, and soon after he dispatches another minstrel called Arnaudon (Arnaldito) with another song of supplication. Already in 1183 he seems to have been known as the author of savage and unusually uncouth satyres, *versos de escarnio*, for Bertrand de Born bases some of his lines on a poem of Guillen. These invectives against the King Alfonso of Aragon, the Marquis of Mataplana and the Bishop of Urgel are his most characteristic compositions. It is natural that he should adopt all the conventions of Provençal literature. Yet in his poetry there seems to survive strains of the poetry of the Juglares, who preceded the Troubadours, a popular realistic and markedly Catalan quality, manifest often not only in the spirit of the work, but in the style and metre. One of his poems, translated into Italian by Salvini, has acquired some fame, derived from the comparison with Petrarca's sonnet:

Zefiro torna e'l bel tempo rimena.

There is a romantic charm in the lament over the death of the Marquis de Mataplana: 'I know, Marquis of Mataplana, that your soul is in Paradise, there where the King of France is dwelling near Roland and also my minstrel from Ripolles and my Sabata, accompanied by fair ladies, on a carpet of flowers.'

l. 15–19. Scarcely anything is known of *Benbibre;*

Pero March (†1413) was the father of Ausías and only a few of his verses have come down to us. The *Obres poetiques* of *Jordi de Sant Jordi* have been edited by J. Masso Torrents, Barcelona—Madrid 1902. He was a contemporary of Santillana; his *Passion de Amor* has not come down to us. As the Marquis supposes, Febrer translated Dante into Catalan. Of the names in this section, Ausías March is by far the most famous. There is a critical edition of his *Obres* by A. Pagés, 2 vols., 1912–14, and a study on him, *Auzías March et ses prédécesseurs* by the same, Paris 1911, which forms vol. cxciv of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*. He was born about 1397, obtained the honour of knighthood in 1418 or 1419 and the following year took part in an expedition against Sardinia and Corsica. In 1426 King Alfonso V gave him the charge of the royal falcons at Valencia. A feudal lord, he sat in the Cortes of 1435, 1436, and 1446 and died in 1459. In his poems he found inspiration in love, the death of his lady, morality, and religion. He nationalized the poetic language, abandoning the Provençal vocabulary, which Catalan bards had hitherto used, but in spite of this revolution his work is essentially Provençal. Boscan imitated him, and for a time in Spain he was placed above Dante and Petrarch, but his cult declined from the seventeenth century onwards, and even in his own country this distinguished Catalan poet became a stranger.

PAGE 77. Some of the lyric poetry referred to here is preserved in the *Cancioneros* mentioned further on. The preference shown by poets of the whole Peninsula for the Galician-Portuguese language is supposed to have been due to its superior musical qualities and suitability for the dance.

l. 2. *El Libro de Alexandre*: one of the most important representatives of the *Mester de Clerecia*. It has been attributed to Gonzalo de Berceo (1180?–1247?), following the testimony of the MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Internal evidence is not favourable to this attribution, as the simple monk could hardly have moved with such freedom amongst the compositions and conceits of the *Alexandreis* by Gautier de Châtillon (Galter el Bueno), the *Roman d'Alexandre* by Lambert le Tors and Alexandre de Bernai, nor the Latin *Iliad*, the *Roman de Troie*, by Benoît de Sainte-More, and the

Historia Troiana by Guido delle Colonne. In the Osuna library there was one copy of the Libro de Alexandre, bound in the *mudéjar* style introduced by the Christian Arabs. It bears no mark of personal use by Don Iñigo. In this copy Juan Lorenzo of Astorga, the copyist, describes himself as the author in the last lines of the poem.

ll. 2–3. *Los Votos del Pavon.* All trace of a Spanish composition dealing with this subject has been lost.

l. 3. *El libro del Arççipreste de Hita*: Juan Ruiz (1283?–1350?). His *Libro de buen amor* is one of the greatest monuments in Spanish literature before the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* was written in the last decade of the fifteenth century and, without doubt, the most entertaining book of the Spanish Middle Ages. We know next to nothing about the author. It appears from a note, made by the copyist, that he was imprisoned for some offence by the Cardinal Gil de Albornoz, who was Archbishop of Toledo from 1139 to 1367, and that he wrot part of his work while he was detained. He is not only one of the greatest of Spanish writers, but belongs to the local tradition of Guadalajara, a circumstance which, as in the case of other writers, appealed to the local patriotism of the Marquis. Hita, where he was Archpriest, is only a short distance away, and Guadalajara claimed to be his birthplace.

l. 4. *Pero Lopez de Ayala, el viejo, un libro que fiço de las maneras del Palacio.* See pp. 21–2.

l. 17. *Mansobre* in the opinion of D. Carolina Michäelis de Vasconcellos is an error for *Mordobre.* For an example of this poetical device (by which a verb is used in each couplet twice or more often, but in a different tense) see *Cancioneiro de Ajuda*, vol. I, cantiga no. 289 and cf. vol. II, pp. 455 and 476.

ll. 18 ff. The codex of the poems of D. Dinis has been lost; it probably belonged to the Mendozas, for Santillana's father, the Admiral Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, his paternal grandfather Peter Gonzalez de Mendoza, who gave his life to save that of his King at the battle of Aljubarrota, and an uncle of his, had written poetry in the Galician-Portuguese manner.

In the opinion of Dona Carolina Michäelis, the codex may have been the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, or the *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti*, but it cannot have been the *Cancioneiro d'Ajuda* which has no songs of King Dinis;

or it may have been a different miscellany from any we possess and more complete in *serranas*, *pastorelas*, and *cantares d'amigo*, i.e. in semi-popular compositions cultivated by King Dinis and others, a song-book of his in the fullest sense and so a continuation of the *Cancioneiro d'Ajuda*. All depends on the interpretation to be given to the words *cantigas*, *serranas e decires*. Putting a comma between *cantigas* and *serranas*, we can think of three different kinds—*canções d'amor*, *cantares d'amigo*, and *versos de escarnho*, that is the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* and the *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti*; without the comma, the case alters. If the *cantigas serranas* were real *serranilhas*, the MS. of Dona Mencia would be quite distinct from existing *Cancioneiros*, which have only one *pastorela* in the native style. Vide *Cancioneiro d'Ajuda*, ed. Carolina Michäelis, vol. ii, p. 237.

King Dinis was not great-grandfather of the Constable, but of King John I, Pedro's grandfather.

l. 27. No evidence exists for this legend about *João Soares de Paiva*. He was born about 1140 and is called troubadour, an honour he shares with only five or six fidalgos; the title is a proof of the fame his songs had earned him. He had estates in north-east Spain which in 1196 were invaded and laid waste by King Sancho the Brave of Navarre and, as the poet did not obtain the compensation he expected, he avenged himself by a satire on the monarch. Vide *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, No. 937, and *Los Cancioneros Gallego-Portugueses* by Eugenio Lopes Aydillo in *Revue Hispanique*, No. 132, p. 351.

l. 29. *Sanabria* is a place in Leon near the Galician-Portuguese frontier. D. Carolina Michäelis calls the poet Seabra and thinks he was a companion of Meendes de Besteiros, Baião and Guilhade, whose verses are placed near his. The latter include a *balleta d'amigo* and some *cantigas d'amor*. Vide *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, No. 338 and *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti*, Nos. 330 to 338. His songs describe his griefs and, except for the fact that he was apparently one of the earliest Galician-Portuguese bards to be known, it is hard to say why Santillana should have remembered him.

l. 30. *Vasco Peres de Camões* (1361–1386) was an ancestor of the author of *The Lusiads*; his works have not been preserved.

ll. 30–1. *Fernam Casquicio* (*c.* 1354), like Camões,

was a member of the group of Galician poets which included Macias, Villasandino, and Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza. It is to be regretted that his compositions are lost, for they would help to fill the gap between the older *Cancioneiros* and that of Garcia de Resende which contains the poetry of the years from 1450 to 1516.

l. 31. *Macias* died about the year 1390 in romantic circumstances. One version, that of the Comendador Griego in his commentary to John de Mena (sixteenth century), asserts that the lance of a jealous husband mortally wounded him, while he was serenading his lady in the fortress of Arjonilla. The other story, told by the Portuguese Constable, to whom this letter is addressed, in his *Sátira de felice e infelice vida* is that he was murdered while silently worshipping the place where his lady had set foot, when she descended from her palfrey, in accordance with his entreaties. Whatever the truth, that he came to a violent end is proved by the lines:

Aquesta lanza syn falla
¡Ay coytado!
Non me la dieron del muro,
Nyn la prise yo en batalla
¡Mal pecado!
Mas viniendo a ty seguro,
Amor falso e perjuro
Me firió, é sin tardança
E fué tal la mi andança
Sin ventura.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly suggests that the legend may be the consequence of these lines. The type of amatory martyr was traditional in France. Raoul de Coucy was the victim of the Lady of Fayel, in Catalonia Quillen de Cabestanh followed suit. This Werther of the fifteenth century did not write great poetry, but his successors placed some of their own in his mouth. He appears in Santillana's *Querella de Amor* and in John de Menas' *Orden de Venus*. No *Infierno de Amor* was complete without him. Lope de Vega treats his lamentable fate in a dramatic elegy *Porfiar hasta morir*, and in the nineteenth century the subtle and tragic journalist Larra (1807–37) writes an historical novel *El Doncel de Don Enrique el Doliente*.

PAGE 78, l. 10. No works of *Don Johan de la Çerda* are known to us. About his life the *Crónica de Don*

Pedro, to which reference has already been made, gives some information. He was a direct descendant of the learned King Alfonso X. His father, Don Luis, was the eldest son of Alfonso de la Cerda, who took the title of King of Castile during the minorities of Ferdinand IV and Alfonso XI. His mother was Dona Leonor de Guzman, daughter of Guzman el Bueno, the heroic defender of Tarifa. He was educated in France, married the daughter of the favourite of Alfonso XI, Don Alonso Fernandez, but soon the tragic fate of the house of la Cerda reasserted itself. We find him wandering in Granada and Africa. He retires to Portugal, but Juan Alfonso de Albuquerque takes him to Castile in 1353. Peter the Cruel gives him the post of Alguacil Mayor in Seville, and he appears in Valladolid at the marriage of Blanche of Bourbon to the King, holding the reins of her horse. He took part in several revolts against the King, was pardoned, and commanded the Aragonese frontier. Again he quarrelled with his sovereign, this time for private reasons, the King having made unchaste advances to his relation Dona Aldonza Coronel. He was finally executed in Seville.

l. 11. *Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza.* See p. 19.

l. 19 ff. *un judío que se llamo Rabi Santo.* The Rabi Don Sem Tob or Sentob lived in Carrión de los Condes, where Santillana was born in 1398. There probably was a strong local tradition. In the *Proverbios Morales*, which are dedicated to Peter the Cruel, who reigned from 1350–62, he describes himself as an elderly man. He is the first Jew to write in Spanish. The *Proverbios* are a collection of epigrammatic maxims derived from many sources, and the *Proverbios* of Santillana are a later Spanish offspring of the Jewish compilation. Amador de los Rios gives two other versions of this passage.

I. Non vale el açor menos
Porque en vil nido siga,
Nin los enxemplos buenos
Porque judío los diga.

II. Non vale el açor menos
por nascer de mal nido,
non los enxemplos buenos,
por los desyr judío.

Nearly all the poets mentioned in the following paragraphs are included in the famous *Cancionero de Baena*, so called after the Jew Alfonso de Baena, who compiled this anthology about the year 1445. It contains compositions by about sixty poets belonging to different periods. They fall under two main categories: those who continue the decrepit Galician-Portuguese tradition, such as Villasandino, Garci Ferrandes de Jerena, the Archdeacon of Toro, Macías, Juan Rodriguez del Padron and Don Pedro Velez de Guevera and those, mostly Sevilian, who inspire themselves in the allegorical art of Italy, such as Micer Francisco Imperial, Ruy Paez de Ribera, the Medinas, and Ferrand Manuel de Lando.

PAGE 79, l. 1. *Alfonso Gonzalez de Castro.* Little is known about this poet. Was he the Alonso Gonzalez de Castro who lived about the year 1385 and belonged to the order of Calatrava, when Gonzalo de Guzman was Grand Master? The first song quoted here is attributed in the *Cancionero de Baena* to Macias, and there is internal evidence that this attribution is correct.

l. 6. *El Arcediano de Toro* lived at least until 1383. His three most important poems in the *Cancionero de Baena* are written in Galician. He was an accomplished though not a great poet. His farewell to love and poetry, quoted by Santillana, is delightful:

A Deus amor, a Deus el Rei
A quem servy . . .
. . . . .
A Deus senhores
Que muyto amé:
A Deus os trobadores
Con quem trobé.

l. 12. *Garci Fernandez de Gerena.* Garci Ferrandes de Jerena is a curious representative of the Gaya Ciencia. The *Cancionero*, quoted by Menéndez y Pelayo, says that he fell in love with a Moorish *Juglaresa* of the kind that had delighted the Rabelaisian heart of the Archpriest of Hita and the gross senses of Villasandino. He thought she had money, but discovered after the marriage *que su mujer non tenia nada.* In order to make a living he first became a hermit, then pretended to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and finally went to Málaga with his wife and became a Mohammedan. In 1401 he returned to

Castile to lead a miserable existence and to be ill-treated by his literary colleagues.

l. 17. *Alfonso Alvarez de Ilyescas* = Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino (1350?–1428?) from Burgos. He is by far the best represented poet in the *Cancionero de Baena*, as he contributed 193 compositions to this collection. It is not easy to understand his popularity, as most of his satiric verse was as mercenary and abominable as his character.

> Sennores, para el camino
> Dat al de Villasandino.

Yet he was the Court-poet of three reigns. The judgment of Don Iñigo and the reference to *Quidquid tentabat dicere versus erat* may be explained by the fact that Villasandino was the most musical and metrically the most accomplished of all these poets. Menéndez y Pelayo picks out some charming lines dedicated to a Moorish girl:

> Lynda Rosa muy suave
> Vi plantada en un vergel,
> Puesta so secreta llave
> De la lynea de Ismael.
>
> . . . .
>
> Mahomad el atrevido
> Ordeno que fueses tal,
> De aseo noble complido,
> Alvos pechos de crystal.
> De alabastro muy broñido
> Devie ser con grant razon
> Lo que cubre su alcandora.

ll. 25–6. *Miçer Françisco Imperial* was the son of a Genoese gold merchant who settled in Seville. His chief composition, the *Desyr de las Siete Virtudes*, is a paraphrase, sometimes a literal translation, of many passages from Dante's works, chiefly the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*. Although he is one of the most uninspired of the poets of the *Cancionero de Baena*, he takes precedence over all others as a historical figure, for he introduced consciously and deliberately the hendecasyllabic metre of the Italians into Spain. This innovation explains the enthusiasm of the Marquis.

PAGE 80, l. 8. *Fernand Sanchez Talavera* seems to have died in old age some time before the year 1445.

Sixteen of his compositions are included in the *Cancionero de Baena*.

l. 10. *Don Pero Velez de Guevara*, uncle of Don Iñigo. There are many of his poems in the *Cancionero*, in some of which he complains about his fall from royal favour. His songs dedicated to the Virgin Mary are in the manner of the Chancellor Peter Lopez de Ayala, to whom he was closely related. He wrote also some satirical compositions as uncouth as those of Villasandino.

l. 12. *Fernand Perez de Guzman* (1376?–1460?): Lord of Batres. There are fourteen compositions by this author in the *Cancionero de Baena*. His reputation is based neither on them nor on the *Proverbios de Grandes Sentençias*, mentioned by the Marquis, but on a third part of the *Mar de istorias*, which contains *las Generaciones, Semblanças y Obras de los ecelentes reyes de España don Enrique el Tercero y don Juan el Segundo, y de los venerables perlados y notables caualleros que en los tiempos destos reyes fueron*. He has been compared to Tacitus, Saint-Simon, and Plutarch, and he certainly was a master of portraiture. It is strange that Don Iñigo should not have mentioned the writings of his father the Admiral Don Diego. See pp. 19–20.

l. 22. *Duque Don Fadrique, mi señor e mi hermano*. Don Fadrique de Castro, Duke of Arjona, the poet's brother-in-law to whom the old Romance refers:

> De vos el Duque de Arjona
> Grandes querellas me dan.

The only member of this academy living under the patronage of the fierce Duke of Arjona, who should be remembered is Ferran Manuel de Lando. His father was one of the French knights who accompanied Duguesclin in his campaign against Don Peter and the Black Prince. At one time he was an influential man, as his cousin Ines de Torres was the favourite of the Queen-Regent during the minority of John II. As the Marquis says, he was a pupil of Imperial and defended the Italo-Sevilian school against the remaining champions of the Galician-Provençal art, prominent amongst them the old Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino. The quarrel between the two schools was a violent one, and on one occasion it came to blows between Lando and Alfonso de Morana. The victory of the Italian school was complete, and even Villasandino

and Juan Alfonso de Baena had to learn to sing, with some difficulty, in the new manner.

PAGE **81**, l. 16. *Quem nova concepit olla servabit odorem* = 'Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem'. *Epistles*, Book I, ep. ii. 69–70.

l. 22. *La forma e manera como, dexo agora de recontar, por quanto ya en el prologo de los mios* Proverbios *so ha mencionado.* The passage to which he makes reference occurs in the dedication of the *Proverbios* to Prince Henry, the son and heir of John II: *los quales creeria non aver leydo las regulas del trovar, escriptas e ordenadas por Remon Vidal de Besaduc* (Ramon Vidal de Bezaudun), *ome assaz entendido en las artes liberales e grand trovador; nin la continuaçion del trovar fecha por Jufre de Joxa, monge negro, nin del mallorquin, llamado Berenguel de Noya; nin creo que ayan visto las leyes del Conssistorio de la gaya dotrina que por luengos tiempos se tovo en el collegio de Tolosa, por abtoridad e permission del rey de Françia.* Rios (*op. cit.*, p. 26).

Printed in England at the Oxford University Press
By John Johnson Printer to the University